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Is Christianity on the Defensive in the Far East?

The growth of individualism in the Far East has brought about a rising tide of feeling against Western ideas. Is Christianity to be the scapegoat? In next week's issue of The Outlook two writers discuss this tendency in China and Japan.

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The Outlook

Volume 145 February 9, 1927 Number 6

McAdoo Defines the Issue

WHEN William G. McAdoo addressed the Ohio Bar Association in Toledo, he performed a public service by defining the prohibition issue more fully, if not more clearly, than it had been defined before from a public platform. He may have meant to lay down the issue upon which he himself will seek the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, but the issue which he defined will go beyond the conventions into the campaign, beyond election into the Presidential office. It already was an issue in the public mind, and will remain so until it is definitely settled.

There may be room for differences of opinion as to the soundness of Mr. McAdoo's legal reasoning to the effect that Congress could not constitutionally repeal the Volstead Law without substituting another of the same kind. Since repeal of the Volstead Law is a possibility quite remote, the question is hardly more than academic.

There may be even more room for differences of opinion as to Mr. McAdoo's contention that a State which once has passed a prohibition enforcement law may not afterwards erase the law from its statutes—that the Mullan-Gage Law in New York, for instance, is still a law, despite its repeal by the Legislature. This is interesting matter for speculation, quite in place before a meeting of lawyers, but not immediately and practically applicable to existing conditions.

The point which Mr. McAdoo did establish clearly is that those States which refuse to co-operate with the Federal Government in enforcement of prohibition are in the position of deliberately nullifying the Constitution of the United States, since the Eighteenth Amendment imposes a concurrent duty upon Federal and State Governments with regard to enforcement legislation. The remedy for such attempts at nullification, he declared, is for the President to report the situation to Congress and to request the necessary appropriations and measures to enable him "to enforce the Constitution and laws of the United States in such nullification or recalcitrant State."

The right to use Federal force against State nullification has been generally conceded ever since President Jackson clearly indicated that it would be used against South Carolina if that State persisted in nullification. Mr. McAdoo pointed out, however, that measures to enforce the Constitution in a recalcitrant State need not take the form of force.

The way to get rid of prohibition, Mr. McAdoo pointed out, is to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment in due and regular form. It is strange that any such statement as this should be necessary, yet it is necessary because those who wish to be rid of prohibition are seeking to get rid of it by all methods except the regular and orderly one. Refusal of States to do their part in the enactment and administration of enforcement laws is not the only nullification. The modificationists undertake to nullify that part of the Constitution which provides for its amendment.

Mr. McAdoo was entirely right in his declaration that the principle involved is one much broader than prohibition.

Boulder Canyon

THE Boulder Canyon Dam Bill, providing for a $125,000,000 enterprise in the Colorado River, is before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives seeking preferential consideration. But, even if the Rules Committee should decide to put it ahead of Muscle Shoals and other things which have been longer on the waiting list, the obstacles which it must overcome are many.

There are those, both in and out of Congress, who believe that the time has not come for development of the water power of the Colorado, and this belief persists despite the fact that the Department of the Interior and the Secretary of Commerce have declared for prompt legislative action.

Among those who believe that the time is ripe there are several divisions. The States through which the waters of the Colorado flow—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and California—are far from agreement among themselves. There is conflict between the interests of the upper and of the lower basin, and even within those divisions there is not unity of purpose. Arizona, of the lower valley, declines emphatically to co-operate with California, and Utah, of the upper basin, is asserting rights not conceded by the other States of that division.

Then, too, there are three positions tenaciously held as to how the project should be carried out if it is to be carried out at all. The House committee which reported the bill submitted a majority and two minority reports.

The Department of the Interior—and the Swing-Johnson Bill is essentially a Department of the Interior bill—favors an alternative provision by which the Government can either build and own the power plant or turn the privilege over to private interests. That is the position of the majority report. But one group, led by Representative Leatherwood, of Utah, would eliminate the former of these alternatives, and another group, led by Representative Davenport, of New York, would eliminate the latter. Inevitably, therefore, the fight will be a three-sided one if the Rules Committee permits the bill to come before the House at this session.

Government and Water Power

WHAT is proposed to be done at Boulder Canyon would constitute the most gigantic dam in existence, 550 feet high. Its purpose would be fourfold—flood control, water supply for irrigation, protection of international rights, and, finally, development of water power. Naturally enough, the largest part of the contention has centered in the question of water power, though there is contention enough among the States as to their relative rights to the use of water for irrigation.

All of the four needs which it is said the dam would meet are, in varying degree, imperative. That of flood control is most so. The Colorado is one of America's most capricious large streams, sometimes an almost dry bed, at other times a raging torrent. In its lower reaches it flows along the rim of a plateau of silt, a hundred feet above the highest part of the Imperial Valley of California. There is always danger that the stream will break over and make a lake of a fertile valley which now supports a population of 60,000. It did break over in 1905, and if President Roosevelt had not then been able to en-

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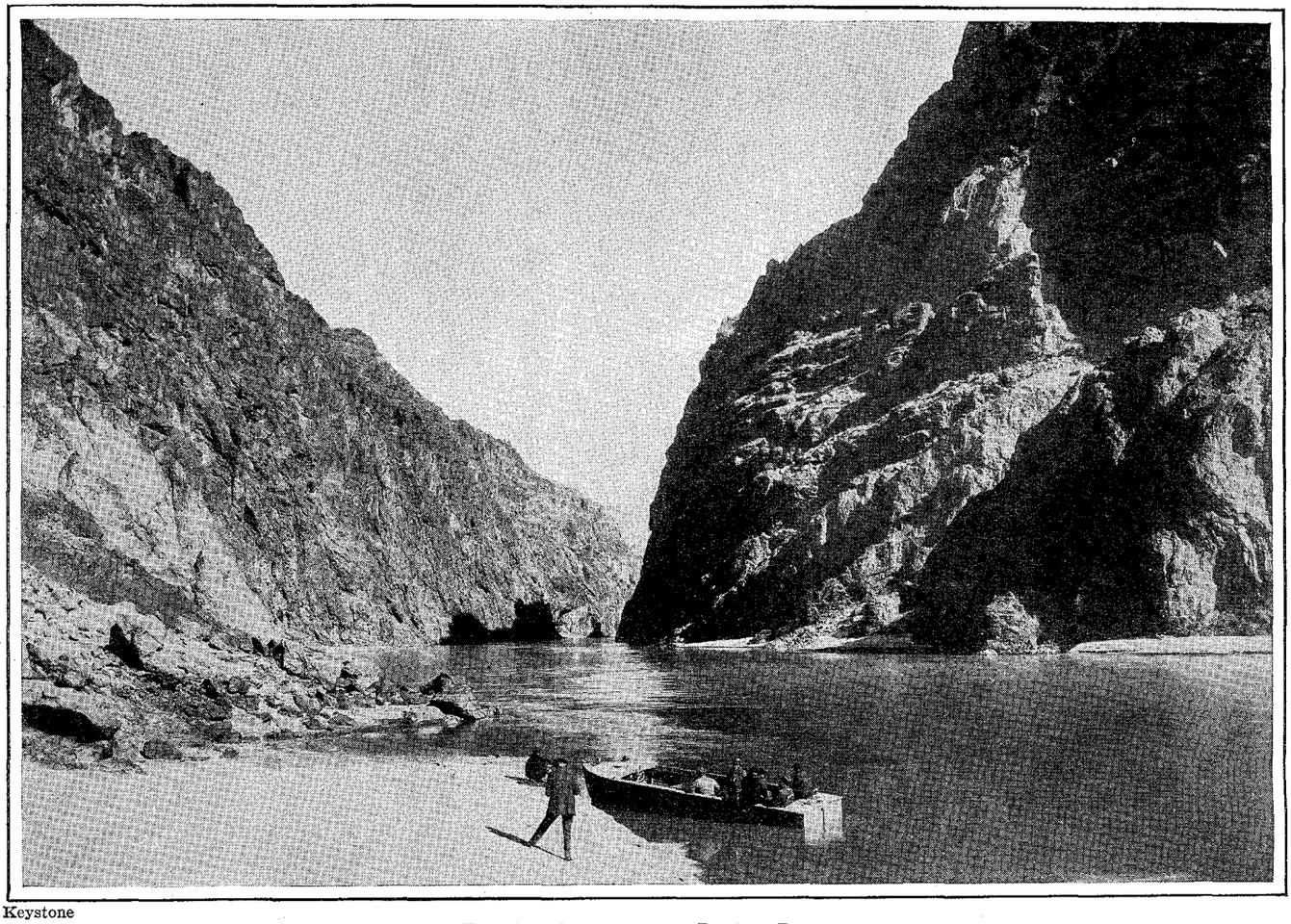

Keystone

The site of the proposed Boulder Dam

gage promptly the great organization of the Southern Pacific Railway to turn it back into its channel it would have destroyed the valley. Flood control in the Colorado is, beyond doubt, imperative.

There is difference of opinion as to whether the storage of water for irrigation purposes is so imperative. There are those who contend that too much land already is under irrigation, and that to bring more under irrigation would be to complicate still further the agricultural problem.

Protection of international rights is involved in the division of water between the American States concerned and Lower California, in Mexico. It is not entirely clear whether or not American water rights are endangered. Under the terms of the bill, water would go to the Imperial Valley through an all-American canal instead of through the present one, which is partly in Mexican territory.

The overshadowing question is that of power development and disposal. It is claimed that a million horse-power would be developed from the dam in Boulder Canyon, and from the sale of that power the Government would recover the $125,000,000 to be advanced for construction of the dam, the power plant, and the canal.

Those who favor the measure contend that there is an ample market for all of the power that could be developed. Those who oppose it contend that there is not, and that therefore the financial scheme is unsound from the Government's standpoint.

Finally, there is the vexed question whether the Government shall own the power plant and regulate the distribution of power or surrender that function to private interests. Thus in the Boulder Dam project is involved the question of the proper attitude of the Government toward water-power disposal.

Both Sides Win

THE compromise radio bill has passed the House of Representatives—without roll-call, but not without some strenuous opposition. It came in the form of a report from a conference committee, and will go before the Senate in the same form. Since, in many respects, it conforms more closely to the Senate (that is, the Dill) than to the House (that is, the White) bill, it is not likely to meet fatal opposition.

This compromise measure was predicted some weeks ago in our Washington correspondence. It materialized as there outlined. The Commission of the Dill Bill is to have charge of radio regulation for one year, to prescribe the class of service to be rendered by each station, assign wave-length bands, regulate apparatus—in short, to reorganize the air with due regard to all sections of the country. At the end of a year regulation of radio will revert to the Department of Commerce, as under the terms of the White Bill, except that the power to revoke licenses will still be in the Commission. The Commission will sit continuously for a year, and afterwards will meet when called.

In many minor particulars the provisions of the Dill Bill prevailed over those of the White Bill.

Every application for station license must reveal the financial status of the applicant.

Stations, though not obliged to broadcast political talks, must, if they accept fees for broadcasting political programs, give equal opportunity to all legally qualified candidates for the same office.

All matter broadcast for hire shall be announced as paid for.

No priority of right by stations is recognized. All licenses in existence are to be regarded as canceled and new ones are to be granted, on the basis of service to the public, for a period not longer

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than three years. This applies to broadcasting stations. Other kinds of licenses may be for five-year periods.

If the bill becomes law, the advocates of both bills will have won in a sense—those of the White Bill in making impossible the creation of a new bureaucracy; those of the Dill Bill in securing a "reorganization of the air" by an authority outside of an administrative department of the Federal Government.

Federal Speak-Easies

SUSTAINED assaults on prohibition enforcement methods are keeping a very real war raging, although, as if it were a sham battle, its successive advantages are subject to the decision of a referee—Secretary Mellon, in whose Department lies the responsibility for Federal enforcement. On the occasion of the last attack he ruled in favor of the defending prohibition forces by refusing to change the established practice of denaturing industrial alcohol. Equally in accord with law enforcement precedent, he has decided a point in favor of the attackers by refusing to tolerate violation of the law in efforts to trap prohibition violators.

Several weeks ago General Lincoln C. Andrews, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of prohibition enforcement, had occasion to discuss the activities of the "under-cover" operators employed for prohibition enforcement. The revelation that they had maintained speak-easies—notably the Bridge Whist Club in New York City—as a means of learning the sources of supply of illicit liquor prompted the Senate to pass a resolution requesting further information about the activities of "under-cover" agents. Previously Congress had stricken from the prohibition enforcement appropriation an item of $150,000 for "under-cover" operations.

The Enforcement Unit's secret activities are necessarily substantially curtailed by the elimination of that single item from the prohibition appropriation. Secretary Mellon has not, however, disapproved of "under-cover" methods as a whole. His recent warning to the Prohibition Enforcement Unit was simply against certain activities of the secret operatives. "It has never been the Government's policy," he affirmed, "to do anything illegal to apprehend illicit persons."

Secrecy in Enforcement

GENERAL ANDREWS and David H. Blair, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, recounted to the Senate in a report and a supplemental letter the use of five speak-easies in apprehending persons engaged in supplying illicit liquor. Their statements condemned enforcement methods which induce law violations, but vigorously defended the employment of secret operatives.

They contended: "It is not necessary or desirable that these agents engage in any illegal practices or entice others to do so, but it is necessary that agents be employed who are qualified and do act as spies with the opposing forces. . . . Secret service methods and under-cover men are absolutely necessary if the Prohibition Law is to be enforced. . . . A limited number of Government employees, every one of them known to the criminal element, operating in broad daylight and in the view of all, cannot hope to defeat unknown, intelligent, and unscrupulous men, not only highly organized, but constantly developing new channels and methods and whose operations are necessarily enshrouded in darkness."

The line of demarcation between legitimate evidence gathering and improper participation by enforcement agents in illegal practices is a difficult one to distinguish. Buying drinks from suspected persons has been the accepted way for agents to obtain evidence of selling. The next step, buying liquor from wholesalers by playing the part of retailers, would seem similarly to be legitimate if it meant simply gathering evidence against persons already suspected of supplying illicit liquor. But since that procedure facilitates illegal acts on the part of patrons of the speak-easies who would not otherwise be involved it is counter to policy.

Modes and Memphis

IN Memphis, Mississippi—that may sound a bit strange, but let it pass for the moment—the National Association of Merchant Tailors of America laid down the law for the fashions of 1927.

Why, except for the fact that there is a good new hotel there, was this session of the style legislature held in Memphis? Was it that models for the new styles might be available, ready dressed, on the streets?

The tailors decreed suspenders. They decreed trousers with wide legs.

Now, while the urban population of Memphis has become spindle-shanked and low-waisted along with other urban populations these latter years, there has never been lacking on its streets those who wore their trousers wide and did not trust for support to belts. That is Memphis, Mississippi. For Memphis, though it sits twelve miles north of the Tennessee line, is the city of the Mississippi planter.

And that planter never has accepted his sartorial law from the National Association of Merchant Tailors. He has gone blandly along with the top two buttons of his waistcoat unfastened when the statutes of style demanded that sort of treatment of the bottom two buttons. He has never departed from suspenders and wide trousers and the black hat, to all of which the tailors now decree that he must return. He is, and has always been, indeed, well-nigh a perfect model of what the tailors insist a well-dressed man must be in 1927. It is just possible that the National Association of Merchant Tailors of America looked at this planter in Memphis and made up its associated mind on the spot as to what the law for 1927 should be.

But the rest of the country will, and must, demur. Return to suspenders—suspenders, of which rubber is an important constituent, at a time when a shortage of rubber makes the cost of automobile tires almost prohibitive? Just for the privilege of having the drag on our shoulders instead of on our hips pay more tribute to the British rubber monopoly?

At the behest of the National Association of Merchant Tailors, we trusted the belt when walking was the common mode of going places. Despite the behest of the National Association of Merchant Tailors, we shall continue to trust the belt when, owing to the prevalence of automobiles, there is not much strain on it, anyhow.

The planters of Memphis, Mississippi, are entitled to be in style for once, and the rest of us out for a while.

The Death of James Ford Rhodes

THE life and achievements of James Ford Rhodes, the American historian whose recent death we record with deep regret, are tinged with a romantic interest. Mr. Rhodes was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1848. While as a student he attended various institutions of learning in this country and in Europe, he was not a university graduate. Notwithstanding this fact, numerous honorary degrees were conferred upon him for his scholarship by the leading universities of this country and by Oxford.

His father was an ironmaster. After traveling in Europe, he became a member of his father's firm and was able to retire with a competency when he was about forty years old. From this time

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on until his death he devoted himself to historical study, research, and writing, chiefly on American subjects. He belonged to that school of historians, now happily growing, who believe that history is not a mere compilation of dates and documents, but should be a record of the growth, development, and achievements of mankind. The danger that confronts this school of historians is that of falling into rhetorical flourish and partisan judgment. This danger Mr. Rhodes happily and successfully avoided. His histories eschew the rhapsodical phraseology of Thomas Carlyle and the political partisanship of Thomas Babington Macaulay. Nevertheless his books are quite as readable as theirs. His judgments are thoroughly impartial, although he does not hesitate to express his own views and to make his own interpretation of historical events and characters. In his writings he is like a just judge who admits credible evidence on both sides of a controversial question, and then fairly charges the jury or hands down a definite opinion. In this respect his mind and temperament was much like that of John Marshall, the greatest Chief Justice who ever sat on the bench of the United States Supreme Court.

Those who care to form an opinion of Mr. Rhodes's valuable and lasting contribution to American history may do well to turn again, even if they have once seen it, to his Oxford Lectures on the Civil War. Here is a book of about two hundred pages which gives a survey of the economic and political currents and cross-currents that led to the Civil War; traces a picture of the important events and important personages of that great struggle; and draws conclusions as to its effects and results in the progress of American civilization. It is all done in such simplicity and with such freedom from passion or prejudice that the greatness of the achievement almost escapes impressing the reader. But it is really a *tour de force*, a masterpiece of its kind which is likely to live as an American classic. Some critics have found fault with Rhodes's writing, on the alleged ground that it is lacking in literary grace. This may be so; but his style is clear, direct, and informative, and it has the merit of carrying along with him the reader who is not diverted from the instruction received by the art with which that instruction is given.

Mr. Rhodes was as simple, modest, and sincere in his social relations as in his scholarship. He never sought the limelight, but he well deserved the numerous and distinguished tributes of recognition which were awarded to him without any solicitation on his part by associations of scholars at home and abroad. His death will be deplored by his circle of personal friends as the passing of a fine type of scholar and gentleman.

French Gold in New York

SINCE authorization to do so by law last August, the Bank of France has bought, with paper francs, more than $62,500,000 worth of gold coin from private hoards in France. Approximately half of that has been shipped to the United States. American opinion has seen in this substantial gold movement an important political significance. Other countries have established credit in New York for the resumption of the gold standard by raising loans in the American market. But France can raise no American loans until she has ratified the Bérenger debt settlement. From these facts and the movement of the gold the inference was drawn that France was attempting to establish independently an adequate balance of gold in New York to resume the gold standard for her trade even if the French Chambers failed to approve the debt settlement.

The French explanation disregards any such meaning. The Bank of France has made its recent purchases of gold at slightly more than it would have paid before the war. If the bank added this gold to its reserve, however, the addition would have to be calculated at par, and the bank would incur the loss of the difference between par and the purchase price of the gold. Of course there is already a reserve a great deal larger than the recent purchases. But, instead of that action, credit in New York could be bought with the gold, not only at no such loss, but also in forms which would yield a small profit in interest. This credit could furthermore be immediately brought into use to support the franc, if necessary. The understanding of French financiers is that the gold export transactions have represented simply the taking of an available financial advantage.

From a technical financial standpoint, France is already held to be in a position to return to the gold standard. But the move may not be expected until public confidence in the French Government and consequent political support are such as to justify it. For more than six weeks the franc has been kept stable at about twenty-five to the dollar. The result of that, an element of Premier Poincaré's financial program, has been the strengthening of confidence in French securities, both in Paris and New York.

Germany Turns to the "Right"

CHANCELLOR MARX, of Germany, who resigned with his Ministry in December, has succeeded at the urgent request of President Hindenburg in forming a new Cabinet. It is a coalition which includes four leading members of the National Party. Though it represents a swing toward the more reactionary groups, it is under the direction of the shrewd and moderate Dr. Marx.

Moreover, the Cabinet is too uncertain of its support in the Reichstag to run great risks. Theoretically, it should have a margin of 40 votes; but the German Democrats are suspicious of it, and Dr. Marx may not be able to rely upon the liberal wing of his own Catholic Center Party. Dr. Joseph Wirth, the former Chancellor, has declared that the new Cabinet is a challenge to all sincere German republicans; and a number of the Catholic Centrists may follow him in opposition. This would cut down the Cabinet's votes in the Reichstag to just about an even balance.

The National Party can be said only to tolerate the republican régime in Germany. President Hindenburg even refused to approve the appointment as Minister of Justice of one Nationalist, because of his pronounced anti-republican tendencies.

This decision was regarded as a victory for Dr. Stresemann's conciliatory policy in Europe.

At the same time, there are other elements in the situation that will call for watching. It happens that direct Allied military supervision of Germany ceases coincidentally with the assumption of power by the new Cabinet. A third point on which President Hindenburg has insisted is that there shall be no political interference with the German army. The Social Democrats and other liberal parties have been charging that there is a secret military scheme to conserve and build up the structure of the old army, which high officials countenance. They have demanded an investigation. Dr. Gessler, the Minister of Defense, had to resign from the Democratic Party in order to retain in the Cabinet the post which he has held since 1920; and so the system of army administration which has been in force remains intact.

As responsibility for military control of Germany passes to the League of Nations, it can be predicted that the army policy of the new Marx Cabinet will be

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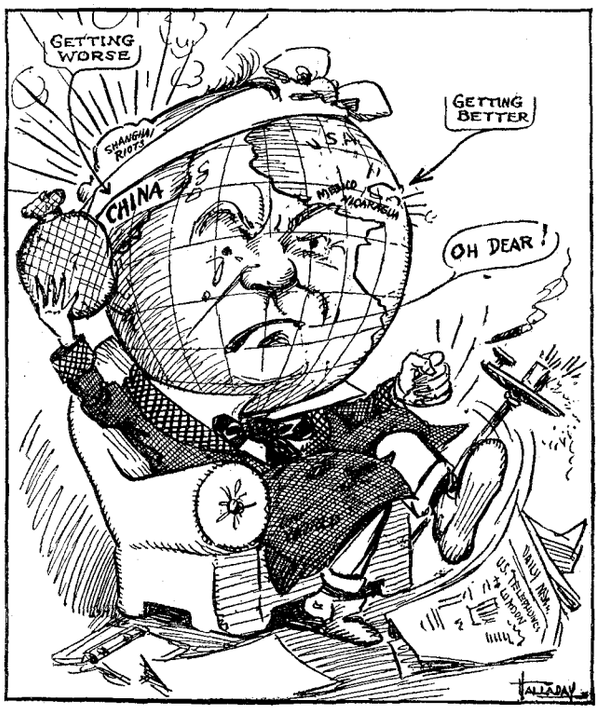
What make we abroad ?

(Timon of Athens, Act III, Scene 5)

Halladay in the Providence Sunday Journal



If it isn't one thing, it's another

From Mrs. H. W. Harrub, Taunton, Mass.

North in the Washington Post

As seen by his critics at home and abroad

From Cyrus A. Smale, Washington, D. C.

Morris in the Hartford Courant

The anxious seat

From Daniel Thompson, Hartford, Conn.

Dean in the Dayton (Ohio) News

Too many cooks spoil the chop suey

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the one which the Allies will scrutinize most closely.

America's Neighbors in Trouble

I—China

FOR the unrest in China America is partly responsible. So far as she is true to her own ideals America will acknowledge that gladly. Education always causes unrest, and American missionaries have been foremost in educational work in China. Fair dealing is bound to cause discontent in the minds of those accustomed to imposition and force, and America's return to China of a share of the Boxer indemnity made the Chinese discontented with the methods of other Powers. An example of freedom and prosperity is bound to work mischief in the minds of those accustomed to arbitrary power and to poverty, and Chinese who have come to America for education or for other purposes and have returned home have carried with them ideas that have kept the Chinese uneasy. Any effort to remove impediments from progress is sure to rouse ambition and hope, and America at the Washington Conference, under Mr. Hughes's guidance, threw all its influence to removing from China international fetters, and thus turned the thoughts of Chinese toward the future.

For the consequent disorders in China America can only have regret; but for these she cannot accept responsibility. It is not America that has seized territory from China which the Chinese wish now to recover. It is not America that has sought special privileges in trade which the Chinese now wish to remove. It is not America that has insisted upon depriving the Chinese of the power to lay their own tariff—a power which the Chinese naturally seek to regain. So far as Americans have shared with other foreigners in China in the effort to keep the Chinese under, America must share the blame as well as the credit for what is happening in China to-day; but America has not much on her conscience in this respect. Resentment aroused during the years in which foreigners have pressed special advantages in China and lorded it over the Chinese—even to the point of physically maltreating them —is not to be laid at the door of the Nation that has stood uniformly for equality and the Open Door in China.

The fact is that since the Boxer uprising at the beginning of this century, and before it, there has been a groundswell of anti-foreign feeling in China. If this feeling should become strong enough, the Chinese could make it too expensive and hazardous for foreigners to stay in China. The gathering of China's latent power at present is the result of a long process. The situation calls for delicate and intelligent handling.

Secretary Kellogg has made an announcement of American policy toward China which is to be welcomed. He has declared that the United States is ready to negotiate for increases in the Chinese customs duties, for the establishment of Chinese tariff autonomy, and for the abolition of the special extra-territorial rights of foreigners. This our Government is prepared to do, he declares, either alone or together with other Governments, when China has a Government that can be recognized and can send authorized representatives. He has emphasized the desire of the American people, many times proved, for the unity, independence, and prosperity of China, and also our strict neutrality between rival Chinese factions. This general policy, a later statement explained, might be applied in a conference with accredited delegates from the two warring parties of North and South China, representing the militarist administration at Peking and the Nationalist administration now established at Wuchang. This goes beyond the position of the report of the Extra-Territoriality Commission, headed by Silas H. Strawn. It takes rather the direction of the Porter resolution, passed by the House of Representatives, in favor of immediate negotiation of new treaties with China.

Great Britain has followed suit with a specific modification of her attitude toward China. With her many concessions and great commercial and financial interests in China, Great Britain is the Power most concerned in the present difficulties. Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has made a historic pronouncement in the House of Commons, in the face of the rising tide of Chinese national sentiment. He has said that Great Britain is prepared to recognize modern Chinese law courts without the attendance of British officials, to make British subjects liable to Chinese taxation not discriminatory against British goods, and to arrange local agreements regarding the British concession quarters in various parts of China so that they may be amalgamated with the Chinese administration under conditions giving the British a voice in municipal affairs. That is a long way for Great Britain to go in reversal of her traditional policy of maintaining special privileges in China. It is likely to mark the beginning of a new era in the Orient, for it is a recognition that the Chinese are in a position to make their own demands effective.

France and Japan meanwhile are reserving any definite statement of their policies and marking time. But they have indicated that they are in general accord with the position taken by the United States.

America's position in this crisis is of supreme importance. This is not because of any special virtue. If she did not participate in the scramble for privileges in China, it was perhaps because she was busy in conquering a continent of her own. The fact remains that she is free from suspicion of ulterior purposes. She has in consequence a position of moral influence in China that no other nation has. She stands between Europe and China in the position of mediator. Her traditions, her inheritance, her ancestry, her views of life, her habits and customs, are European; but her eyes are toward the west where lies the Far East. Her shores are washed by the Pacific, which is the new arena of world affairs. She is rich and resourceful, relieved largely of burdens that rest heavily on other nations. And she has no entanglements and commitments in the policies and politics of Europe. Whatever disadvantages there may be in the fact that she is not a member of the League of Nations, she has at least this advantage—that she can act independently in a time like this. She can throw her influence where she will without being subjected to the charge of breaking faith. She is powerful, she is free, and she is in a strategic position.

And for her there are two principles that must stand foremost.

First, she must uphold the right of every member of a civilized nation to the protection of some government. Today the world has reached a stage in civilization when members of civilized nations should not be without protection wherever they may go. If they cannot have the protection of the country in which they are, then they must be protected in their elementary rights by the country to which they belong. America, as a defender of civilization and of its own ideals, must stand for the principle of the protection of foreigners in other lands as well as in her own. This means that she must use the weight of her influence and of her power to prevent those impositions by the powerful on the weak that invite retaliation by the weak; but she must equally insist that the rights even of the strong should be respected and observed.

In the second place, she must continue to insist on the principle of equality among nations. That principle enun-

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International

British marines arriving at Portsmouth, England, ready to embark for duty in China

ciated by John Hay under his policy of the Open Door is one that has a wide application. America must not commit herself in any way to the maintenance of privileges and prerogatives that violate that principle.

For a hundred years England had a position of independence which enabled her to cast her influence on the side of peace in Europe. She was free to throw her weight first in one direction and then in another in the interest of what roughly proved to be right and justice. To-day America stands in much the same position toward the world that England once stood toward Europe. This crisis in China is an opportunity for America to prove that she has the right to her freedom and power.

II—Nicaragua

In the world to-day there are nations incapable of fulfilling all the obligations of sovereign Powers. They cannot protect the rights of foreigners within their borders or fully comply with the legitimate requirements of other nations in maintaining order. Among such countries is the Central American republic Nicaragua. With the obligation to protect Americans and other foreigners, there are now American marines on Nicaraguan soil and American naval vessels in Nicaraguan waters. The Rev. Walter E. Woodbury, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Melrose, Massachusetts, has asked us questions which have probably arisen in the minds of many readers concerning America's part in the present Nicaraguan situation. We set these questions down (rearranging their order), and with each question an answer based on the most authoritative information we have been able to obtain.

Question 1. What have Solorzano and Sacasa done to offend our Government so that the United States is now backing a rebel Government against the men who were the choice of the people of Nicaragua in the last bona fide election of 1924?

Answer. The United States has forces in Nicaragua, not because of any offense committed by Solorzano or Sacasa against the United States, but for other reasons. Solorzano resigned as President because, knowing that General Chamorro was starting a revolution against him, he feared that if he did not resign he might lose his life. When Solorzano resigned, Sacasa, under the Constitution, was entitled to the Presidency. Without resigning, Sacasa fled the country. Under the Constitution of Nicaragua, General Chamorro, having put some of his own friends into Congress in place of supporters of the fugitives, and having been himself in the Senate, was appointed by Congress as "Designate." The United States refused to recognize Chamorro, because it was contrary to the Central American treaty of 1923. When Chamorro found he would not be recognized by the United States, he resigned, and Diaz was elected by the reorganized Congress as "Designate"—that is, Acting President. Thereupon Diaz was formally recognized by the United States. Solorzano claims that he is still President. Sacasa too claims that he is Acting President. But, according to the Constitution of Nicaragua, the President cannot leave the country without permission of Congress. Sacasa was impeached and his office declared vacant. The State Department at Washington says that Sacasa was invited back on the American gunboat at Corinto at the time of the conference between the Conservatives and Liberals, and that if he had come he would have been legally within the country, and thus entitled to exercise his functions as President; but he refused. The United States could not have forced Sacasa back on Nicaragua without subjecting itself to severe and justified criticism. Sacasa went to Mexico for help. Whether the United States recognized Diaz as being the lesser of two evils in view of the influence of Mexico in Central America is a matter of speculation; but the international relations with Central America certainly do affect the Nicaraguan Canal route, in which the United States has an interest, and even the Panama Canal.

Question 2. What is the actual wording of the Constitution concerning the election of Presidents, especially, in special emergency, provisions allowing elec-

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tion by the Congress rather than by the people?

Answer. The wording is—

> It belongs to Congress . . . to elect each year two Designates who, in the order of their election, shall exercise the Presidency of the Republic, when there is an absolute or temporary default of the President and Vice-President.
>
> It is indispensable that the election of the Designates be limited to members of the national Legislature who fulfill the conditions required for being President of the Republic. (Title XI, Article 84.)
>
> The election of President and Vice-President of the Republic shall be by popular vote, direct and public. (Title XIII, Article 103.)
>
> In case of the absolute or temporary default of the President of the Republic, the executive power shall devolve upon the Vice-President, and in default of the latter upon one of the Designates in the order of their election. In the latter case, should Congress be in session, it shall be its duty to authorize the intrustment of the office to the Representative whom it may designate, who must fulfill the requirements for President of the Republic. (Title XIII, Article 106.)
>
> The President shall not leave the country during the exercise of his functions without permission of Congress, nor shall he do so at the end of his term, if there are proceedings pending against him for official or common-law offenses. (Title XIII, Article 108.)

Question 3. What are the exact provisions of the United States' treaty with Central American Powers concerning recognition of governments which are set up as the result of armed revolutions?

Answer. There is no treaty to this effect between the United States and the Central American Powers. The treaty of 1923 made between Central American countries under the auspices of the United States obligates the signatories not to recognize "any other government which may come into power . . . through a *coup d'état* or revolution . . . as long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally recognized the country." Even then they will not acknowledge the recognition if the person elected should be a leader or the near relative of a leader of the *coup d'état* or revolution, or should have been a Secretary of State or held some high military command during or six months preceding the *coup d'état,* revolution, or election, or if he should be otherwise disqualified by the Constitution of his country from the office of President.

Question 4. What countries, like Mexico, have recognized the government under Sacasa?

Answer. None but Mexico.

Question 5. What countries have recognized the country under Diaz, and when did they grant recognition?

Answer. The United States, Great Britain, and Honduras on November 11, 1926, when Diaz was inaugurated, and Italy, Belgium, Germany, the Holy See, France, Spain, Peru, Colombia, Cuba, Panama, and Chile on dates of which we have no record and of which the State Department itself was, recently at least, not informed.

Question 6. Who backed Chamorro, that he could so speedily overthrow the men elected by the people in the revolution of 1925?

Answer. Revolutions in Nicaragua are started by military men with such city followers as may desire to procure public office for honor or profit. Chamorro is a military man with a big following. The peasants of Nicaragua, composed of a mixture of Negro, Indian, and white blood, are ignorant and care not who is President.

Question 7. What is the reaction toward our present Nicaraguan policy in South America as registered by leading South American journals?

Answer. Unfriendly. Undoubtedly, it would also have been unfriendly if the United States had backed Sacasa. Latin America is likely to be suspicious of whatever the United States does. It is well, if possible, to try to avoid criticism, but it is essential to be right. The duty of the United States in Nicaragua is threefold—to protect foreign residents and their rights, to secure so far as possible the confidence of all our Latin-American neighbors, and to uphold whatever tends to develop orderly and constitutional government.

III—Mexico

FOREIGNERS in Mexico should be protected in their rights. If Mexico is not protecting them, then some other Power or Powers should take their part. Since among the rights involved those of American citizens predominate, since the United States is Mexico's next-door neighbor, and since by the Monroe Doctrine America has assumed certain obligations toward European and other nations in this hemisphere, it is right that America should assume a special responsibility toward foreigners in Mexico and their rights. In this case America is not in the position of mediator, but of advocate. If rights have been invaded, it is America that is the legitimate complainant.

There is a question, however, whether rights have been invaded, and, if so, to what extent they have been. In the dispute with Mexico the question is one essentially legal. Every such question is capable of legal determination. Civilization has reached, not only the stage when rights of persons in foreign countries should be protected, but also the stage in which protection of legal rights by legal means is available. Not only is there a Court of International Justice to which the United States or Mexico could bring their case, but there are other tribunals—notably the Hague Court of Arbitration, which has decided cases on the basis, not of compromise, but of law. If the courts of Mexico are unable to decide the questions at issue between the Mexican Government and foreigners in Mexico to the satisfaction of both parties, these other tribunals are at their service.

Happily, a definite step in advance has been taken toward breaking the deadlock between Mexico and the United States regarding the rights of foreigners under the Mexican oil and land laws. The Transcontinental Oil Company has secured a restraining order from the District Court in the State of Vera Cruz, suspending application of the petroleum regulations until a final decision can be secured regarding their legality. The agent of the Mexican Department of Justice has appealed to the Mexican Supreme Court. The case will thus be taken at once before the highest tribunal of the country and a judgment will be rendered as soon as possible.

The results of this action may furnish the basis for a decision whether arbitration of the dispute between our Government and the Mexican Government is necessary or possible. In a previous ruling, in the case of the Texas Company, the Mexican Supreme Court set up the principle that claims to oil property secured before the Constitution of 1917 went into effect must have been established by positive acts of development in order to make them valid. That principle, and the provisions of Article 27 of the new Constitution and the petroleum regulations putting it into effect, are contested by the oil companies and by our Government as retroactive and confiscatory.

Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution vests the ownership of all subsurface land rights in the nation and its Government. The Petroleum Law of December 31, 1925, requires the holders of titles to oil lands to present them to the Govern-

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ment for confirmation, with the possibility of receiving concessions for fifty years. Under these regulations, any titles not presented before January 1, 1927, would be regarded as void.

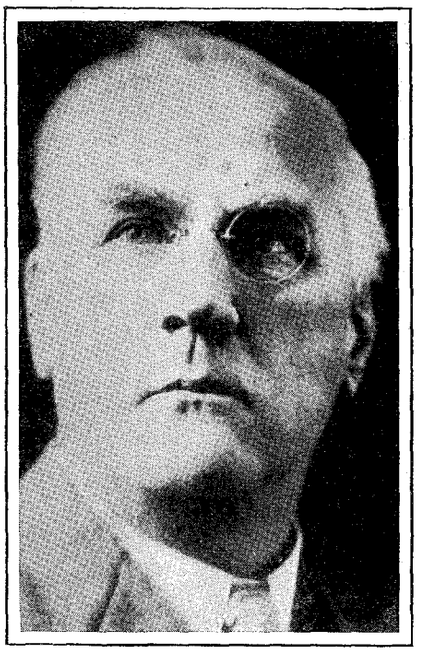
Mexico contends that Article 27 is derived from an original declaration of the Spanish crown regarding lands in Mexico. The Indians always held their lands on a sort of communal basis, under the terms of this declaration; and the present Mexican Government argues that they were improperly deprived of their lands during the Gonzales and Diaz administrations. Under the law of 1884 and subsequent codes, ownership of all rights was vested in the surface title. It was in accordance with these laws that American and other foreign holders of oil properties acquired their unlimited titles in fee simple. One of the slogans of the revolution in Mexico which resulted in the present Government was the restoration of Indian lands and a return to the system of vesting ownership of mineral rights in the nation. So there arose the conflict between the claims of Mexico and the United States.

According to the Mexican Embassy, the property holdings of citizens of the United States in Mexico amount to $1,389,061,000, of which $318,063,000 is represented by oil interests. The Embassy has further stated that oil companies have applied for confirmatory concessions on 323 claims covering 17,000,000 acres of land held under titles secured before the passage of the Constitution of 1917. Applications concerning titles secured after that time bring the total number up to 643 and the area to 26,833,330 acres, which is said to be all but about six per cent of the total area involved. Meanwhile, the Mexican Government has canceled some 153 drilling permits on lands acquired before May, 1917, in cases where the companies have not complied with the requirements of the new laws—thus holding up the operations of the industry. It is to meet and settle the issue involved in this action that the case of the Transcontinental Company, first referred to, has been brought.

The case should provide a final test of the opinion of the Mexican courts. It should also open the way—if that proves necessary—for arbitration of the dispute. On the one side is the Mexican contention as to the original constitutional status of land titles and the legality of the arrangement by which it was changed. On the other side is the contention of the United States as to titles in fee simple acquired in good faith. The resolution passed unanimously by the Senate, in favor of arbitration, points the just way out of the difficulty.

Dr. Durkee at Plymouth Church

IN taking up his duties as pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York, the Rev. Dr. J. Stanley Durkee inherits the riches of a great past. As with material wealth, the treasure of a fine tradition carries with it not only resources but impediments.



Keystone

The Rev. Dr. J. Stanley Durkee, new pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn

The pioneer who breaks a new way through the wilderness has a freedom which the heir of a great estate cannot enjoy; but he lacks the guidance that custom and experience give. Fortunately, the greatest tradition of Plymouth Church is that of liberty.

Henry Ward Beecher, its first minister, who was also the first editor of this journal, was an apostle of freedom in the anti-slavery cause. His successor, Lyman Abbott, who was also his associate and successor as Editor-in-Chief of this journal, served in the pulpit of Plymouth Church the cause of religious freedom. Under Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis Plymouth Church has carried on the tradition of liberty. Dr. Durkee will find there an atmosphere of freedom not only of speech but of work.

Conditions in Brooklyn Heights have changed—there, as elsewhere in the greater city of New York—since the days of Beecher. Instead of the former stable population of established families there is a shifting population. In the quarter-century of Dr. Hillis's pastorate the church has enlarged its permanent resources. It has new tools with which to work. The younger generation to which it must appeal is not seeking to be served so much as to be shown ways of service. It is an active generation, and the problem of the churches is to harness its activities to useful ends.

Dr. Durkee, a native of Nova Scotia, was educated at Bates College in Maine and Boston University. He was ordained to the Free Baptist ministry, was pastor of the South Congregational Church at Brockton, Massachusetts, and since 1918 until his call to Plymouth Church was President of Howard University, one of the foremost institutions for the education of Negroes. He was welcomed at his installation by representatives not only of his own denomination but by Protestants of other communions and by a Jewish rabbi. He brings to his new service a mind free from dogmatism, a mellow and friendly spirit, a wide experience, and a happy freedom of utterance.

The Oratorical Contest on the Constitution

THROUGHOUT the country there is now taking place a competition for high school and private secondary school students consisting of competitive orations on the Constitution of the United States. By April 1 the winners in the several schools will have been selected. In a series of other contests the competitors in the National finals at Washington on May 20 will be selected. In October the American champion will meet champions of similar contests in other countries.

During the competition in the schools The Outlook will print each week an article as an aid to the pupils who enter the competition and to their teachers. The first of these articles appears in this issue. It is on Washington's contribution to the Constitution. Dr. Krout, the author of the article, is Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University. We believe that this article and those that succeed it will not only start the thinking of the contestants in the right direction but also stimulate them to further study. It was never more important than it is to-day for the people of America to understand their own Government. We hope, therefore, that these articles will be of interest to adults as well as those who are to take part in this exciting and useful competition.

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A Snap-Shot of Florida

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

Contributing Editor of The Outlook

I AM writing this article in a country house on the shores of Long Island Sound about forty miles from New York. As I look out of the window I see a thin film of snow on the ground and a heavy sheet of ice on an inlet of the Sound—heavy enough to bear an automobile. In fact, yesterday, I saw a sedan in the middle of one of these sheets of ice. It apparently had taken a party of skaters out from the shore who were wheeling and cavorting about the car on their thin steel runners. This kind of climate has its advantages. It produces the reddest-cheeked children that can be found in the world. Possibly it explains the contention of the biologists and psychologists who tell us that it is the Nordic peoples that make the world go round.

But, admitting all the landscape beauty and health-giving qualities of a Northern winter, I cannot help thinking, with the thermometer at zero, a little wistfully of the charms of Florida, to which I made a flying visit of a little more than a week just after New Year's Day. I did not go down to the land of Ponce de Leon as a mere tourist, but on a matter of important business—not connected, let me hasten to add, with speculation in land. My business being accomplished, I had three or four days to devote justifiably to play. Two or three things were impressed indelibly upon my mind. For example, an afternoon's automobile drive of fifteen or twenty miles on the wonderful beach that skirts the ocean at Ormond and Daytona; another motor drive of sixty or seventy miles inland from Ormond to the charming lake region about Winter Park and Orlando; and, perhaps, best of all, an afternoon spent on a beautiful golf course near the last-mentioned places. The weather was like that of an early June day in New England or New York. I played in a summer costume, and the putting greens were covered with a silky and verdant turf that would have satisfied the most exacting demands of an habitué of the Scottish St. Andrews.

Now, I am not trying to defend Florida from the punishment which she is deservedly suffering at this time from her "busted boom." The real estate speculators have done her a good deal of harm, and it will take her a good while to get over the effect of the jocund financial spree into which she plunged a year ago so light-heartedly. She is now enjoying the inevitable headache of "the morning after." The boomers defend themselves on the ground that their well-laid plans were frustrated by "an act of God," meaning the hurricane that visited Miami. As a matter of fact, this storm did comparatively little damage even in the southeastern part of the peninsula, and no damage at all to those parts of the State whose economic structure rests upon sure foundations. What did break down was the indiscriminate lot selling in the swamp lands and the wood lands which are as yet wholly undeveloped and uninhabited. I do not say uninhabitable, because these swamp lands and wood lands may some day be turned into fertile fruit and truck farms. The swamp lands especially will be valuable when an economic system of drainage is perfected, for they contain a rich soil made of vegetable matter that has been decomposing and disintegrating for ages.

No doubt an army of men who went to Florida to "get rich quick" have suffered. Possibly some innocent but gullible bystanders also suffered. A typical indication of the speculative collapse struck my eye as I was passing through Orlando. On the outskirts of this pleasing and prosperous city there was a huge vacant lot, as large as a small city park, packed with automobiles, above which was displayed a great canvas sign with the legend "Used Cars for Sale" emblazoned upon it. Some of these cars were handsome sedans and limousines, shining with nickel and varnish, and looking as if they had just come out of a dealer's show-room. They were mute witnesses to the fact that the blow that struck Florida was not "an act of God," but an act of foolish humans—as foolish as those who were submerged in the bursting of the notorious "South Sea Bubble" or the disastrous failure of John Law's gambling "Mississippi Company."

Florida, however, has undoubtedly an assured future, provided its settlers and developers are willing to remember the Scriptural injunction, which is just as economically sound to-day as when it was uttered three or four thousand years ago, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Even in the fertile and semi-tropical soil of Florida fruit and vegetables do not grow without labor and cultivation. But think, O ye Yankee farmers, of the cultivation of a black soil without a stone in it even as large as a pebble!

Some humorist has said that Florida is four hundred miles long, a hundred miles wide, and two feet high. This somewhat monotonous plain lacks hillsides, mountains, and valleys, but it has a wonderful seacoast, many placid and picturesque lakes, and some rivers and inlets that add diversification to the scenery. As I have already said, a large portion of its soil is rich in growing properties; I do not mean real estate properties, but those chemical properties that are necessary for the production of food, both animal and vegetable. I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, but I am convinced that Florida is destined to fulfill, in a measure of which its present development is only the beginning, two important functions for the whole Northern Atlantic Seaboard and the Middle Atlantic States. It will be both the winter vacation park and the winter truck and fruit garden for a vast snow-bound territory to the north of it. It is not the intent of this article to boost Florida at the expense of California, its great competitor. California has some advantages of topography and climate which Florida can never possess. Its snow-capped mountains give it a unique beauty of scenery and enable it to produce agricultural products not only of a semi-tropical but of a temperate zone. It takes, however, four days for the New Yorker and three days for the Chicagoan to reach California by the fastest train. The traveler can flee from the ice-bound waters of Lake Michigan or Long Island Sound to the gentle air of Florida in thirty-six hours. This accessibility is a great asset.

To the student of economics and politics the romantic history of Florida makes a strong appeal. New Englanders are prone to think that the civilizing of this continent began with the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock in 1620. The truth is that European civilization got its first foothold on what is now the territory of the United States when Ponce de Leon, a companion of Columbus, landed on the coast of Florida near the mouth of the St. Johns River, a hundred years before the Pilgrims touched Plymouth Rock. There are still to be seen at St. Augustine picturesque and substantial architectural remains of Ponce de Leon's civilizing labors. We may not owe to the Spanish forefathers the debt of moral gratitude which we owe to the English forefathers, but we certainly owe them something which we ought not to forget in our present-day enthusiasm for things Nordic. In order that I may not receive letters of protest

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from my California readers, let me add that there are picturesque Spanish architectural remains in California also. I have no desire to thrust my head into the battle of the Californian and Floridian orangemen which sometimes rages quite as violently as the battles of the Orangemen of old Erin.

But there ought to be no jealousies or antagonisms between our two Riviera States. There is room and need for both. Let both bend their energies to their highest development. Their real competitors are on the shores of the Mediterranean, where Nice, Cannes, Mentone, San Remo, and Bordighera are still the centers of the most highly cultivated winter gardens of the world.

Washington's Contribution to the Constitution[1]

By JOHN ALLEN KROUT, A.B. (Michigan), A.M., Ph.D. (Columbia)

Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University

ON Friday morning, May 25, 1787, the delegates from nine States to the Federal Convention in Philadelphia had taken their places in the State House, when Robert Morris rose and nominated "His Excellency George Washington, Esquire," to be President of the Convention. Without delay the members unanimously cast their votes for the nominee, and he was escorted to the chair of the presiding officer. Thus did the man who had so ably borne the burden of leadership during the Revolution come to be the moderator of the distinguished assembly which was to draft the Constitution of the United States.

Less than four years before Washington had resigned his command of the Continental Army, put aside the trappings of military life, and returned to his beloved acres at Mount Vernon. "I have retired from all public employments," he wrote to his faithful friend Lafayette, "and shall tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction. . . . I shall move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers." But this desire to end his days in the peace and quiet of private life was constantly thwarted by the call of public duty. As Washington watched the affairs of the new nation from his estate on the Potomac, he noted with increasing alarm the failure of the Government under the Articles of Confederation to command respect either at home or abroad.

Although Congress was supposed to represent the central authority, it was defied with impunity by the various States. It could not negotiate favorable treaties with foreign Powers, because it could not compel the States to respect its agreements. Furthermore, Congress was bankrupt. Unable to levy and collect taxes, except by requesting the States to appropriate funds, it could not even pay the full interest charges on the foreign and domestic debt. When foreigners were no longer willing to loan it the required funds, the necessity of repudiating the debt seemed imminent. To a man careful of his household accounts as Washington was this financial condition appeared to be a National disgrace.

A second great evil of the period was the strife between the States. The Articles of Confederation had not secured a league of complete amity and friendship between the thirteen divisions of the country. Disputes arose over boundaries, customs duties, and trade regulations, threatening at times to assume the proportions of petty inter-State wars. New York taxed exorbitantly the garden produce of the New Jersey farmers; Virginia and Maryland could not come to terms in the region of the Chesapeake; South Carolina and Georgia treated each other as foreign powers because of trouble in the navigation of the Savannah. Inter-State enmity was more than matched by disorderly, if not anarchic, conditions within the States. Debtors demanded that the Legislatures annul their debts, or else provide for the issuance of more and cheaper money. When creditors appealed to the Courts to enforce their legal claims, there were threats of violence, and in Massachusetts rioters actually stopped court proceedings against debtors.

To George Washington, a man of property and a lover of law and order, such outbursts indicated the fundamental weakness of the governmental system under the Articles of Confederation. He discussed the problem of strengthening the Government in numerous letters to such friends as Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, and Madison. It seemed to him that the Nation was falling to pieces for want of the proper bonds to hold it together. His own State of Virginia was involved in spirited controversy with Maryland over the tariffs at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. The dispute offered an opportunity to take definite action looking toward the development of inter-State commerce and good will. At Washington's invitation, commissioners from the two States met at Mount Vernon to discuss the causes of conflict between them. The conference soon decided that Pennsylvania should be invited to another meeting, since her citizens had important interests in Chesapeake Bay. Washington suggested that it might be well at the next meeting to study carefully the commercial situation throughout the Nation. Accordingly, Virginia issued an invitation to *all* the States to send representatives to Annapolis, September 1, 1786.

Much to the disappointment of the leaders, only five States were represented at this Annapolis Convention. Alexander Hamilton, however, seized the opportunity to persuade the delegates to issue a call for a Federal Convention at Philadelphia the following May. When the Virginia Legislature came to consider the call, it was persuaded to appoint delegates and to head the list with the name of Washington. It was over the deliberations of these delegates, finally assembled in Philadelphia in May, 1787, that George Washington presided for almost four months.

Although the presiding officer did not take an active part in the debates of the Convention, the power of his personality and prestige was at all times evident. His mere presence in the group increased its importance in the eyes of his contemporaries. On the course of the discussions, sometimes heated and acrimonious, his unbending dignity and severe impartiality had a salutary effect. "He sat," says Professor Farrand, "on a raised platform, in a large, carved, high-backed chair, from which his commanding figure and dignified bearing exerted a potent influence on the assembly—an influence enhanced by the formal courtesy and stately intercourse of the times." Only once did he rise to speak on a question before the assemblage, but his unwilling-

[1] References:

Max Farrand, "The Framing of the Constitution."

Claude Bowers, "Jefferson and Hamilton."

E. B. Greene, "The Foundation of American Nationality."

W. C. Ford, "George Washington."

"The Records of the Federal Convention," edited by Max Farrand.

Max Farrand, "The Fathers of the Constitution."

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ness to take sides in the debates made his rulings on questions of procedure the more effective.

When the draft of the Constitution had been completed by the Convention, and all save three of the delegates had signed it, Washington returned to his home, anxious to work for the ratification of the document. On several occasions he expressed his opinion that if the States failed to accept the work of the Philadelphia Convention, no subsequent meeting could frame a better instrument of government. His friends assured him that his every word in support of the Constitution was of infinite service, and he was persuaded to work quietly but constantly in his native State. When ratification seemed doubtful in Massachusetts, one of his letters was published in a Boston newspaper, and apparently changed some opinions in the State Convention. Especially helpful were his letters of advice and encouragement to such unfailing supporters of the proposed Government as Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and Morris. With them he joined in the general rejoicing when the action of the ninth State had made ratification a certainty.

When the American people turned to a consideration of the organization of the Government under the new Constitution, the name of Washington was in all minds. He was not unaware of the part he would be called upon to play in putting the machinery of the National Administration into operation. A few days before the electors met to cast a unanimous vote for George Washington as first President of the United States he wrote to General Pinckney, "For my own part, I am entirely persuaded that the present general government will endeavor to lay the foundations for its proceedings in national justice, faith and honor." As Chief Magistrate during the crucial testing of the new Government he fulfilled this pledge with the utmost fidelity. Less brilliant and less gifted than some of his advisers, he brought to his task infinite patience, steadfastness of purpose, and a high sense of honor. When discord threatened to become dangerous, he dominated the situation by a singular balance of reason and action, of thought and deed. But for these qualities the early years under the Constitution might have been far different for his country.

The Theater, the Motion Picture, the Censor

By CHARLES L. BUCHANAN

THE motion picture works under a censorship board. Every inch of film is subjected to the closest scrutiny before being released for public presentation. The theater has no censorship board. It is free to do as it likes. Every once in a while there is a flurry of agitation regarding the advisability of subjecting it to censor supervision, and the smoke screen of a play jury is sent out to cover the issue. It is customary at these times for some one prominent in theatrical matters to enunciate the old doctrine of art for art's sake. Commenting upon a favorable decision rendered by a jury in the matter of "The Captive," the adapter of the play proclaimed the importance of the verdict as follows: "This verdict will test whether adult subjects may be treated hereafter in a decent way on the stage."

The "adult" subject in this instance happened to be a phase of psychopathic abnormality which has not, up to now, served as a theme for serious drama. The play runs counter to a fundamental axiom of genuine art in so much as it is based upon the peculiar and exceptional instance rather than upon a universal human experience. It is inherently undramatic. Whatever its intrinsic technical merits may be, its essential appeal is made to an ulterior and dubious kind of curiosity.

It would be a waste of time to discuss the present demoralized state of the New York theater. It would be equally futile to refer specifically to plays and to certain "revues" that are lewd, salacious, and crassly vulgar. On a smaller scale, this sort of thing was with us thirty years ago. It was opposed then by certain persons, as it is opposed now. It exists, so Mr. Wilton Lackaye tells us, because there is a public demand for it.

I am not a psychologist or a statistician. The matter of public taste is too vast and perpetually contradictory a subject for easy speculation. But there are one or two matters, more or less definite and concrete, that I should like to call to the attention of the reader.

The guardians of the "legitimate" theater hold the motion picture in contempt. They obtain assurance of the survival of the "legitimate" theater from the assumption that the motion picture caters to and is patronized by persons of an inferior intellectual and cultural caliber. One of these gentlemen has spoken as follows: "The moving pictures have left the legitimate stage only the adult portion of the public, from an intellectual standpoint. They are of a type less apt to be harmfully influenced, whereas the moving-picture public needs to be protected from thoughts it is not qualified to cope with."

Putting aside the patently arrogant and offensive quality of these remarks, let us inquire into their degree of accuracy and of sincerity. What is the theater doing under the unwritten law of freedom of speech? Granted that freedom of speech is desirable. Granted that a genuine progress must be predicated upon an honest facing of facts. Granted that the theater is for the "adult" and "intellectual" intelligence. Granted all this, just what, precisely, of intrinsic artistic worth-whileness is the theater giving us under an administration which allows it the broadest possible scope for expressiveness?

The outstanding "hit" of the present season is the aforementioned play, "The Captive." The invalid peculiarity of the subject automatically puts it in the realm of psycho-pathology. I do not mean that "The Captive" should be debarred; but I do mean that to make this play a yardstick by which we shall measure our capacity for "adult" and "intellectual" appreciation is to insult the common sense of the community.

Among the outstanding "hits" of the preceding season were "Bride of the Lamb," "Lulu Belle," "The Shanghai Gesture," and "Cradle Snatchers." To advance any of these plays as a measure of "adult" and "intellectual" appreciation is simply ridiculous.

I do not say that the theater is totally barren of worthy artistic and dramatic effort. I do say that outstanding examples of dramatic excellence are comparatively few, and that they are overwhelmingly outnumbered by plays that are either abortive and ineffectual intellectually, or spurious, deceitful, and nasty.

Contemporaneous with this, the motion picture has given us, quite aside from innumerable instances of admirable romance and wit and entertainment, four pictures of universal significance, three of which are of a rare and distinguished beauty. I refer to "The Big Parade," "Potemkin," "Beau Geste,"

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and "Variety." These pictures have come to us through a medium that is held in contempt by the intellectuals and that works under the aforementioned censorship. One of these pictures, "Variety," although given in its original sequence in New York City, was cut for the road, but this did not, in my opinion, lessen its effectiveness.

No well-balanced person will dispute the tremendous dynamic significance of three of these pictures, the romantic glamour of the fourth. For my part, I do not hesitate to say that "The Big Parade" is the greatest dramatic achievement of this age. I know of nothing even remotely comparable to that stupendous closing sequence of Part I, wherein a whirlpool of ceaselessly moving figures are co-ordinated into a vast rhythmic pattern, compositionally impeccable. I know of nothing even remotely comparable to that moment when the advance through the woods begins; a moment so fraught with stark, awful momentum that one is tempted to place it in company with the greatest moments of the art of all time. A medium that has given us so sublime an achievement has justified itself.

The German film "Variety," although baldly and cynically bestial, was notable for its adroit photography and for the superb performances of Lya de Putti and Emil Jannings. One wonders what would have been said if these performances had come to us through a Theater Guild production, let us say. Who else but Lya de Putti has given us that note of slobbering, drooling terror that seemed literally to scream out of the picture during the muted crescendo following the murder of Artinelli?

"Potemkin" failed, I think, to measure up to the superlative standards set for it by its press agents. It never quite transcended the impersonal quality of a news reel. It was significant, however, as a representation on a grandiose scale of an historical event of great importance.

Allowance must be made for the fact that the motion picture as a medium for the projection of a vivid emotional impact possesses an inherent technical potency far beyond that possessed by the stage. The great dynamic, elemental flood that sweeps through the finale of Part I of "The Big Parade" could have been achieved through no other medium.

But setting aside this question of intrinsic technical potentiality, we return to our original comparison of the relative importance of the motion picture and the legitimate theater as mediums for the exposition of artistic and intellectual ideas. Granted that the motion picture tends by its very nature towards the spectacular and the sheerly dramatic, the fact remains that it has given us in "The Big Parade" the most universally appealing spectacle of our age.

Contemplation of these pictures leads one to inquire into the sincerity of our intellectuals who cry out against the rumor of theatrical censorship. The motion picture, working under censorship, has achieved artistic results of permanent and universal importance. The theater, working under no censorship, is fritting itself away and demoralizing its public with plays that are trivial, specious, and ultra. To point out the discrepancy is enough for the purposes of this article.

The Destiny of Russia

A Melting-Pot that Cracked: An Ethnical Aspect of the Russian Revolution

By Count Leo Tolstoy

A MELTING-POT with its fires banked to permit a proper assimilation of its elements—that is America. A melting-pot that cracked from the unchecked heat of its flames—that is Russia. No doubt, the legislators of the United States had no comparison with Russia in mind when they framed the immigration restriction laws. But what a lesson history has written in Russia, a lesson that is perhaps not yet widely understood!

The ethnical aspects of the Russian Revolution and of the conditions that made it possible have received less attention than their significance deserves. Here in America I have talked with otherwise intelligent persons who did not know even to what race the Russians belong. Generally, the view-point here seems to be that Russia is more Asiatic than European, that its civilization and cultural background are basically Asiatic, and that therefore Russia as a nation and her people as individuals must be judged by rules and standards different from those of the Western world. "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar," is a saying one commonly hears.

The fact is that the Russian nation comes from a pure Aryan branch of the Normans and her state was created through contact with them. Russia, next only to India, is more purely Aryan than any country in the world. Russia, from its beginnings, was a Nordic state. Why did its Nordic supremacy fail? Why was this Nordic melting-pot shattered, hurling its people into the fire of revolution? The reasons, of course, are inextricably interwoven with the political and economic causes. But let us examine the ethnical composition of Russia and try to find in it one of the causes, a great and too frequently overlooked factor, that led Russia to disintegration and revolution. To do so one must go back to the ethnical origin of its people and trace its admixtures.

SINCE prehistoric times the mission of Russia, situated between Europe and Asia, has been to act as a mediator and serve as a melting-pot for the Occidental and Oriental cultures. Since time immemorial the vast Russian plain has been the arena where the nations of the world, moving to the east or to the west, have been meeting. The first inhabitants were the Scythians, known later in history as the Slavs or Slavonians. They occupied the most fertile parts of southern Russia. That they were a branch of the Normans is confirmed by historians. Their civilization was on a par with that of the ancient Varyags or Varangians and the Normans.

The first mighty and important Slavic Russian state, including Galicia, arose in the eleventh century, when the Russian Prince Iaroslav the Wise gathered around him all the Slavic tribes. In this enterprise Iaroslav, who had married a Swedish princess, was aided by the matrimonial connections of his daughters, one of whom married a Norwegian king and the other Henry I of France. We must partly abandon the legend of Ruric and his two brothers, Sineus and Truvor, coming to rule Russia from Scandinavia. The latest researches of historians have disclosed that Ruric went to Russia alone, taking with

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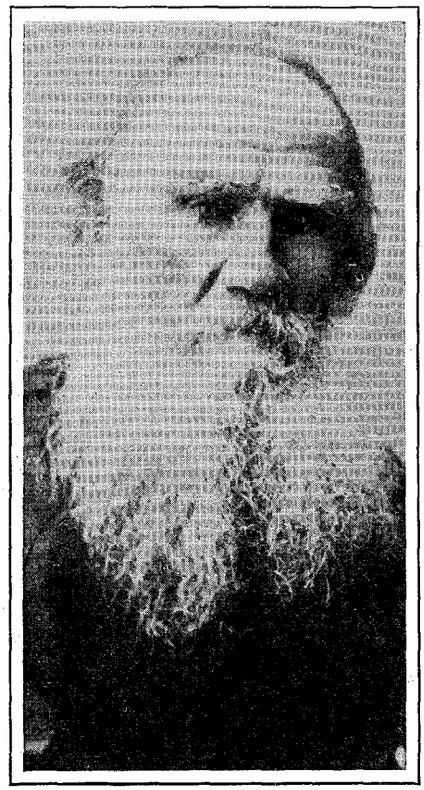
him only his immediate family and his true guardsmen. The myth of the two brothers undoubtedly originated in the ignorance of the Russian chroniclers who copied the ancient sagas found in Iceland. *Sina hus*, in the sagas of Iceland, means houses or families. *Trou varn* means true guards. The Russian chroniclers mistranslated them into proper names, and thus created two brothers for Ruric.

In any event, it is absolutely certain that in the ninth and tenth centuries Russia was a colony of Norman and Scandinavian tribes which extended their influence, not only over all of northern Russia, but also down to the south through Kiev and Constantinople. There exist even now in the south of Russia, in the province of Tchernigov, villages founded by the old Varangians, the inhabitants of which still speak a form of the old Swedish language. The names of many of the old northern Russian towns, such as Novgorod (from "new gord" or new town) and Smolensk ("small land"), are purely Scandinavian.

The foundation of the Russian state, therefore, is historically Scandinavian. That the dominating influence on the life and culture of the early Russian people also was Scandinavian seems beyond doubt. Of course, the Greek Orthodox Christian religion and Church came from Byzantium. The first Bibles translated into the old Slavonic language were from the Greek. No doubt, Russia took her religious culture from Constantinople. But religion is not all in the creation of a state. Russia's first military strength, her first laws and customs, her first democratic social institutions, the so-called "Vetchye" of Novgorod, by which the people governed themselves through a sort of democratic council or soviet—all those came from Scandinavia. Byrka, the ancient capital of Sweden, was a center from which radiated the new Christian light long before Christianity came to Russia. To Byrka often went Dobrinja, the uncle of Vladimir, the Governor of Novgorod, and Dobrinja had great influence over his nephew. Yet Vladimir, for some reason, chose for Russia the Byzantine form of Christianity.

Now why did Russian progress lag? What was the reason that Russia, having started off well under the government of Iaroslav, when her culture equaled that of her Western neighbors, did not keep pace with other countries?

The main reason was the Mongol invasions from the east, which spread their devastating blight over Russia for four centuries and left their indelible mark on the Russia of to-day. The intensity of this calamity is well enough known historically. In one of these great inundations of the Tartars one-seventh part of the Russian population succeeded in living only by hiding in the woods and in monasteries. An Austrian traveler in Russia at that time has recorded that the whole country resembled a vast cemetery.



Keystone

Leo Tolstoy, the father

It has been taught in the Russian schools that it was the Orthodox religion and the Church that saved Russia from the Mongols. No doubt it was, partly. But another great force, the Nordic power that would not be conquered, the Scandinavian influence in the armies, in the institutions and Government of Russia, contributed probably more to the deliverance. The Nordic supremacy was maintained even after the Mongols. But it was greatly weakened, almost fatally weakened. The insidious Mongol influence remained ever after.

The wars with another branch of the Mongols, the Turks, lasted from the time of the Tartars until the World War. Reaching out and organizing a far-flung empire, Russia absorbed into her body politic a vast and heterogeneous mass of peoples. She organized an empire, but not a people. There are no quota laws when a nation takes over a conquered tribe or annexes an alien province. All were swallowed in one indigestible mass.

Then the World War. The Western civilization and Western Aryan nations won, but at what a cost! A new and modern invasion of Mongols swept over Russia. Aryan Russia, already weakened, collapsed. The war took an immense toll of her purest Aryan stock. Russia's fall and disintegration was so great that she was almost completely overrun by the modern Mongols, the cultural heirs of those ancient invaders who had grafted themselves on to the Russian nation and clung to it, submerged but tenaciously unassimilated, through all the years.

Lenine Ulianoff was of Tartar origin. So were a great many of his helpers and associates. Many, too, were Semites, who naturally joined the conquerors, having themselves been suppressed in Russia for centuries.

Thus Bolshevism is less a political fact than an ethnical one. It is ethnical in origin because the suppressed half-Mongolian element of Russia revolted and justly sought to claim its rights in the country.

It is interesting to note, also, that the Great War began with a march of the Prussians toward the west. A half-Mongolian race was marching west again. Prussians, descendants of the tribes that had swept from the east when Attila occupied Germany and nearly exterminated the old Aryan strain in the north, were sweeping on again. They were repulsed in the west, but Russia again succumbed to them and to the Mongolians within her own borders.

The melting-pot, which failed to fuse Russia's diverse elements, had many flaws in it. That is a fact that few deny—even enemies of the Bolshevist system. That its political system, with its ultra-monarchical principle, was wrecked by the very problem that had called it into being, is equally obvious. The monarchical principle came to life in Russia because of the difficulties of welding the diverse elements of the nation into one unit. That problem had been intensified by the Tartar invasions. An absolute leader, both in war and in peace, was required. Such a one was Ivan the Terrible. He declared war on the Boyards, the descendants of the old Russian princes, and created a new and numerous class of nobles, the Dvorianye, which for three centuries after served the Czars as the strongest support of

In a future issue The Outlook will print a succeeding article by Leo Tolstoy on

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their thrones. The Dvorianyes received land from the Government and serfs to cultivate it. From this new class later came all the Russian officers and Government employees as well as many of the great artists, writers, and scientists.

WESTERN culture and the impress of Western civilization again came to Russia under Peter the Great. The process of Europeanization gained a tremendous impetus. He copied from Sweden her laws and political organization and founded St. Petersburg, "the window to Europe." He shaved the beards of the Boyards, and when an old Boyard complained of a toothache Peter himself took the tongs from his pocket and pulled out the tooth. If only the Czars who followed him, when Russia was suffering from more than a toothache, had used methods half so efficacious!

Peter the Great knew very well that his country needed more than he gave her, though few Russian rulers gave her more. He went to France seeking an alliance whereby Russia would get from the French their literary and artistic treasures, but France, influenced probably by England, refused to join with Peter.

Catherine II wrote herself a liberal code of laws for her subjects under the name of "Nakas," but this code—so liberal that it was forbidden even in France—never developed into any benefits.

THE policies of the later Czars did little to ameliorate conditions for the millions struggling in that caldron of the Russian nation. Why it finally broke in the reign of Nicholas II, especially after the debacle at the front, was not surprising.

I knew Nicholas II personally. He was a man of very weak character. His position was tragic. The seething unrest of the nation which he inherited was ominous. Had he been a Peter the Great, he would have started liberal and radical reforms, but Nicholas did not and could not understand the needs of his times.

When I saw the Czar soon after the Japanese war and spoke with him about two hours alone in his working-room at Tsarskoie, near St. Petersburg, I came from the palace with a feeling of deep and helpless despair. Nicholas seemed completely deprived of energy and life; his thoughts were superficial and insignificant. I urged upon him the necessity for convoking immediately a "Zemsky Sobor," the States-General of Russia, instead of the Duma. This idea of mine, wonderfully enough, was also approved by my father, though he never took part in politics. But Nicholas, instead of calling a States-General, created the Duma.

In that interview with the Czar I pleaded that a Zemsky Sobor, representative of all classes, and composed of from two to three thousand people,

Keystone

Leo Tolstoy, the third son of the great Russian writer

would best meet the needs and desires of the people and at the same time perpetuate Russia's traditional form of government. It would convene every year, with the Czar as president.

"You could control it and dictate your will," I suggested. "In this manner you would, I think, influence the will of the people. Furthermore, the members would be able to work in unison and without the struggles of various political parties."

But Nicholas, in aimless discussion, stuck to his idea of the Duma. "A Duma in the Russian interpretation of the word," he said. His mind had already been made up. Nevertheless he did follow some of the counsels I tendered later in more than one instance, but they happened to be the least important of my suggestions. There were far too many ambitious persons surrounding the Czar. The idea of convoking a Zemsky Sobor, which would have been Russia's salvation at the time, was far beyond their vision.

THE breakdown came in the war. The army did not wait for the war to end, and the Revolution began. Then sprang forth a leader from the class of the submerged and the oppressed. Rather, that class produced its leadership itself. With Lenine at that time it was not a question of politics nor of conditions of the moment. He was in harmony with the aspirations of a majority. The Bolsheviki alone accepted and even agreed with the predominating sentiment of the nation. They say, and no doubt rightly, that they did not usurp the power, but simply took the power into their hands because at that moment there was no one else to take it. Blindly, the peasants and the workmen followed the man who was promising all that they were dreaming of. Down with the war, with the Czar, with the Popes, and with the landlords! Down with this senseless slaughter called war, down with the autocrats who for centuries had done nothing for the people, down with the Duma and the Ministers who had brought Russia to disaster!

Lenine was saying these same things, only in the form of a Socialistic theory called Communism. Wonderfully enough, probably for Lenine personally, he found himself in a situation where he could try out his theory on the lives of millions of the people of his country.

And so we find to-day the suppressed racial elements of a great nation, having wrested it from the race of its founders, pressing it on toward a destiny as yet unknown.

Will Russia's Europeanization be checked? Will the new Mongolian influence in her tend to align her with the East or with the West? Only the future can answer. St. Petersburg, "the window to Europe," has been abandoned as a capital by the new rulers. The eye that looked out on Europe and the Western culture has turned to the East. Perhaps it will some day assume again the rôle of its past. Russia, throughout her history, looked for outlets to the sea. Gradually expanding, she reached them in all directions. Her dream is one day to reach Constantinople, from which point she will be able to communicate freely with the outside world. But Russia now is too weak and in no position to dare such an adventure. That is why the St. Petersburg of old and the Leningrad of to-day may ultimately again become the capital from which Russia will continue her Europeanization.

the intellectuals in Russia and their effect on the peasant class

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Thistle and Thorn

By MARJORIE ALLEN SEIFFERT

THISTLE and thorn,
Thistle and thorn,
These I have loved
Since I was born.

Roses wither
And crackle to dust,
But a thorn is a knife
That never will rust,

A tiny poniard
A patch can hide,
A delicate spur
To wit and pride,

A needle to sew
A smile on a face,
A skewer to fasten
A heart in place.

Thistle and thorn,
Thistle and thorn,
On stem and stalk
So bitterly borne

To catch and tear,
To stab and prick,
Till in cold fingers
The blood runs quick.

My heart is stubborn,
My heart is slow,
But a little pain
Will make it go

When nothing tender,
Nothing sweet,
Will quicken it
By one small beat.

Of all gallant ladies
The luckiest
Is she who wears
A thorn on her breast.

Old Staffordshire China

By ELSIE SINGMASTER

"A PERFECT child, my dear! An innocent!"

Believing for an instant that these amazing words were applied to him, George Krumholtz answered with a loud "Hoof, back!" and sent his wagon with a bang into the platform of the Myersville railroad station. His broad hat and short coat, his heavy beard and shaven upper lip, marked him as belonging to one of the varieties of the Mennonite sect. He was already annoyed for various reasons—annoyed by the dry weather, annoyed by the threatened approach of the Japanese beetle, annoyed by quarantine officials of the State of Pennsylvania who halted his empty wagon for examination.

He was especially annoyed by the driver of a large automobile who parked in the space which he had intended to occupy, from which he could most comfortably roll into his wagon the tobacco cultivator he was expecting. Though he had conscientious scruples about smoking tobacco, he had none whatever about raising it. Nor had he any hesitation about standing up for his rights. The insulting voice, which was that of a woman, came from the large car.

"You take up too much room," he answered, loudly. "You're entirely too much on the slant. I'm no child and I'm no innocent, and I, too, am a driver."

When there was no answer, he looked sharply around. The chauffeur had vanished; the passengers sat alone in the car, the middle-aged lady who had spoken and a girl who might be her daughter. They were elegantly dressed, and at their feet stood handsome black satchels with locks and lettering which George took to be gold.

"Such a darling!" cried the young girl with rapture.

Though George could not reasonably attribute this description to himself, he sat as though the sound of it paralyzed him. The shock came, however, not through the ear but through the eye.

"With the cap!" said the middle-aged lady.

"And the kerchief!" cried the girl.

"And the smile!"

"And so sweet!"

"And so quaint!" said the middle-aged lady. "If I remember my German, Krumholtz means crooked wood. And so childlike! Just look! I know it's old Staffordshire!"

"You mean 'Look once!'" corrected the girl. "That's what she said—'Look once!'"

"And to get them for next to nothing!" As she spoke the middle-aged lady stroked a dark-blue pitcher which lay on her lap. In an ancient handmade and substantial basket on the floor were other articles of blue ware—a teapot, a sugar-bowl, and a half-dozen cups and saucers. "That's the way to collect antiques—go to the owners." Her voice was almost hysterical. "And don't let them set their own price; just lay down the money. They haven't the remotest idea what things are worth. I believe I'll go back and get more. . . . What did you say?"

Startled, the ladies lifted their heads from contemplation of the blue china. Into the window projected a face and the butt end of a whip. They shrieked; the intruder looked like a bandit, so black was his beard, so glaring his eye. He pointed with his whip.

"Where do those dishes come from?"

"We bought them." Looking round anxiously, the ladies were relieved to see the chauffeur returning.

"And paid for them."

"Those are my wife's great-grandmother's dishes," said George.

"Are they that old? She didn't say to whom they belonged."

"She has no business to sell them."

The chauffeur, arriving, stepped to his seat.

"If they were her great-grandmother's, she can certainly do as she pleases with them," said the older lady. She pressed a button and a bell rang softly by the ear of the chauffeur.

"What is hers is mine," declared George, holding tight to the window. "We are one. And that basket is not hers at all; it is mine."

"Pardon, sir," said the chauffeur.

"What?" George stepped down from the running-board and went forward. Unaccustomed to this polite form of address, he believed the chauffeur was about to side with him. But the chauffeur sat like an image and the car began to move softly. To save himself, George pressed back against the wagon.

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"You rascals!" he shouted. The car moved ever faster. "You cheats! You dare to come back!"

"She was satisfied," called the middle-aged lady. "She threw in the basket."

The car moved round the curve, but not before George had seen the letters I-l-l on the license tag.

"Illinois!" he gasped. "Perhaps as far as Chicago!"

Lifting his fist, he shook it in the air. He had not thought the dishes were valuable, he did not think so now, but clearly these deluded creatures thought so.

"I bet mom could 'a' got a good price," he said aloud. "'So sweet!' 'So quaint!' So eternal dumb, I say. They are all alike, women." He made a motion with his foot—it might be said that he was pawing the earth.

"What do you want, George?" called the agent.

George could not remember what he had come for.

"My cultiwator," he shouted at last.

"It ain't here."

"It ain't!" George roared like a lion, but his heart was relieved; he did not wish to take time to load the cultivator, he wished to get home.

"Haw!" he shouted in his effort to extricate his wagon from the car on the other side. "Gee! Well, have it your own way, then, and break your necks if you must."

The horses stepped out with dignity. It was almost dinner-time, and they took a swift course toward home.

THE Krumholtz house, low, broad, and built of limestone, stood on a slight elevation with a tall wood of oak and hickory trees for a background. Down to a broad creek sloped fertile fields. The early crops had been harvested, and under the luxuriant stalks of corn and tobacco there seemed to be no weed. An arched limestone bridge crossed the stream, overhung by ancient willows.

George had no eye for beauty. He had an appetite for food, but he did not realize that hunger quickened his indignation. He tied his horses at the head of the lane, forgetting their needs as well as his own, and stamped across the grass toward the kitchen. Half-way over he returned; he had much to say, and the animals could not wait until it was said. His work finished, he advanced again, his anger not in the least abated.

A song met him as he strode, rich and deep, and very cheerful, "When the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there." There seemed to be no doubt in the mind of the singer that such would be the case. The singer was Mrs. Krumholtz, and in a second her broad form filled the doorway. She was dressed in gray gingham with kerchief to match, and on her thick hair touched with gray rested a transparent white cap from which ties hung to her bosom. Her face was round and good-natured, her eyes twinkled as they regarded the onrushing figure.

"You come fast, pop!"

George did not answer.

"I thought you wouldn't stable the horses till you ate once."

There was no answer.

"I made *schnitz und knep*, pop." It was necessary for the gray-clad figure to withdraw, so determined was the advance. "What ails you, pop? Did something sting you?"

George looked wildly round the kitchen. One shelf of the cupboard, a handsome and ancient piece of walnut, was, like a more famous cupboard, bare.

"Mom, where are those dishes?"

"They are gone," confessed Mrs. Krumholtz without embarrassment. "I sold them."

"You sold them!" George's honor might have been sold.

"Yes, sir." The answer was merely a local form; it was not in the least humble or obsequious. "Two fine ladies came in a car. They looked round and round. I'll bet Meta Steigerwalt set them on us! They said would I sell the blue dishes?"

"And you sold them?" A Greek play had no more montonous chorus.

"They are gone."

George believed that he saw in her eye the first signs of remorse. Let her suffer!

"What price did you get?"

"What do you think?"

George considered. Mom was stupid, but not entirely void of sense. The ladies had said they got the things for next to nothing. He thought of five dollars, but that was much more than nothing.

"Three dollars," he guessed.

Mom, he believed, looked confounded—likely she had got only two. His face grew crimson, he felt again the impulse to scrape the earth with his foot. He saw a new element of tragedy, hitherto unrecognized.

"Your great-grandmother's dishes!" he shouted. "Had you no respect for the dead? Did you not think of your children?" Until this moment George had thought of the dishes, if he had thought of them at all, not as heirlooms, but useless incumbrances. "Your children will say to you, 'Mom, where are our dishes that you sold to strange people?' And for nothing! If you had got a good price, if"—

Clearly Mrs. Krumholtz did not wish to defend herself to a man maddened by hunger.

"Must I say for the second time that I made *schnitz und knep?*"

"I don't care what you made!" declared George. "One will say, 'Where's my pitcher that I should of inherited from my great-great-grandmother?' Another will say: 'Where's my teapot? Where's my sugar-bowl? Where' "—

Mrs. Krumholtz walked toward the stove.

"Wash your hands at the sink and set on the table, pop. If they ask such questions, I'll say the dishes are in the attic."

"And lie!" George was confounded.

"It will be no lie. They've been in the attic five years. You're not very noticing, pop."

George's amazed eyes sought the cupboard.

"You say they're sold, you say they're in the attic!" he shouted. "They were here this morning, you say they were in the attic five years. Do you think I"m crazy?"

Mrs. Krumholtz lifted a ladle, then the lid off a pot.

"Those on the shelf were every-day dishes. They were all imitation." Her calm suddenly departed—she waved her ladle in the air. "The women, they rushed in like heifers when they see grass in the spring. They said I must sell them those dishes. I was took back something powerful. There I was"—mom pointed with her ladle—"standing with the *schnitz* in my hands and there set your basket. They took down the dishes and laid down the money and off they went as they came. I think they said, could they have the basket, but I don't know." Mrs. Krumholtz turned back toward the stove, her voice normal in tone. "Did you think I would sell my great-grandmother's dishes? These innocents didn't know old dishes from new."

"What did you get?" asked George, his voice trembling, hope springing in his heart. "You could perhaps 'a' got as much as five dollars, mom."

"Five dollars!" Mrs. Krumholtz ladled dumplings from a pan on the stove into a hot dish. There were two kinds, one made of dough, one of potatoes, and both as light as feathers. "They paid seventy-five! But I'm honest, and if they come back I must give them their money."

George tottered to the table and sat down. His heavy beard seemed to drag open his mouth; perspiration stood on

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his shaven lip. He remembered with satisfaction his yell, his brandished fist; the women would never come back.

"Take off your hat, pop," advised mom.

George still had a misgiving.

"How much did you pay in the beginning for those every-day dishes?"

"Pay for them!" Mom lifted from another pot the large piece of home-cured ham and the boiled dried sweet apples which form the remaining ingredients of the most delectable dish in the world. "Pay for them! I paid nothing. I got them with soap wrappers."

Where First Things Are First

The Portrait of a Public High School

By CHARLES K. TAYLOR

THOSE who have been patient enough to follow me from school to school in England may perhaps be interested in what to me seemed to be an outstanding school on this side of the Atlantic, and no nearer England than Brooklyn, New York. It was a school I had never visited, though its reputation is large hereabouts, but it had been intimated that here I could find the answer to some of the most serious problems affecting the education and training of American school-children. And so I voyaged to Brooklyn.

Just inside the door of a large but not very new building a gentlemanly youth stopped reading a text-book and took me at once to the principal's office, from which place, after a while, a two-hour ramble began, sometimes with the principal or with a member of his staff, and sometimes with some of the boys. It was upstairs and downstairs, into classrooms, studios, laboratories, and even the gymnasium. And it was not long before it was clear that here was a sizable machine, running very smoothly and in a sensibly orderly fashion. At the ends of the successive periods, of course, large numbers of boys filled the corridors as they changed classrooms. It was a cheery, good-natured throng, but a businesslike one. There was no skylarking or "rough-housing." Furthermore, at the end of the morning the floors of those corridors were as free from bits of paper and other odds and ends as at the beginning.

Here and there, at vantage-points, there always seemed to be older boys, studying, to be sure, but right on hand for any service or any emergency. And little by little it dawned on me that the older boys had very much to do with the spirit of order as well as the actual enforcing of it, should such an extreme ever be necessary.

Then I had lunch in a great room, after relays of hundreds of boys had been there—and yet the floor was immaculate. The army of boys lunching at that particular time was talking and laughing, but there was no behavior that you would not expect of a lot of grown men. It seemed then to me that if one expression could typify the general behavior and attitude of the three thousand boys in that school, it would be self-control.

I found that the older boys ran that lunch-room, not to speak of a store and a bank, and looked after law and order generally. Here, it seemed, was an efficient kind of self-government at work, backed by a keen interest in the school and all concerning it, which included even the planting of trees, the installing of a fountain, the placing of stone benches, and otherwise beautifying as far as they could a school yard hemmed in close by a teeming city.

So much for first impressions.

DIGGING a little deeper, I found that the boys were running quite a number of publications. There were, of course, the usual school news and literary affairs; but besides these, for instance, there was a most excellent handbook, designed to aid a boy in planning his four years of work with his future vocation in view. Hard-working faculty members had obviously been called upon to construct a large number of model four-year courses, fitting almost any kind of taste or ability. And then there was a regular magazine written in Latin! —the "Forum Latinum"—a creditable affair, not only heavily subscribed to by boys of the school, but by a scattering of schools across the United States. Another regular magazine was printed in Spanish, and, in multigraph, there were four others—"Principia," for those interested in physics; "The Euclidian," for the mathematical enthusiasts; "Der Ausrufer" and "Le Courier," for those interested in German and French. I saw these magazines before I learned anything about the scholarship of the place; but boys who can produce, for instance, an excellent little magazine in Latin have been well taught, for one thing, and have the right attitude toward their work for another.

I AM purposely bringing in the question of scholarship after the character study of the school, because this school puts the development of character first; and, as they found at Gresham's School, in England, high scholarship seems to go with high character.

I wandered into a number of classrooms, merely opening any door I saw and going in. There was no craning of necks or disrupting of work, only if there happened to be no vacant seat near me one was immediately provided.

One can learn much simply by watching classes. First of all, these classes did not let visitors distract them. Again, they were seriously interested in their work. I saw, proving this, an algebra class in which no small number actually arose from their seats because of their interest in some algebraic gymnastics being perpetrated on the blackboard. Did you ever get enthusiastic over algebra? These boys did, and in their trophy cabinet I saw an immense silver cup—the largest one there—the "Algebra Cup," won in an interschool competition. In fact, this high school has won the New York City mathematical championship thirteen years in a row! Yes, they had mathematical "teams," with substitutes, managers, and all. They were keen for mathematics!

Next I happened upon a Latin class—and almost got myself right out again, for years and years ago my experience with Latin was most embarrassing. These lads were not embarrassed. The teacher was leaning nonchalantly against the wall before the class and was discoursing simply, easily, and unostentatiously in impromptu Latin. Furthermore, the class seemed to know what he was talking about and answered him in kind. Speaking of embarrassment, I

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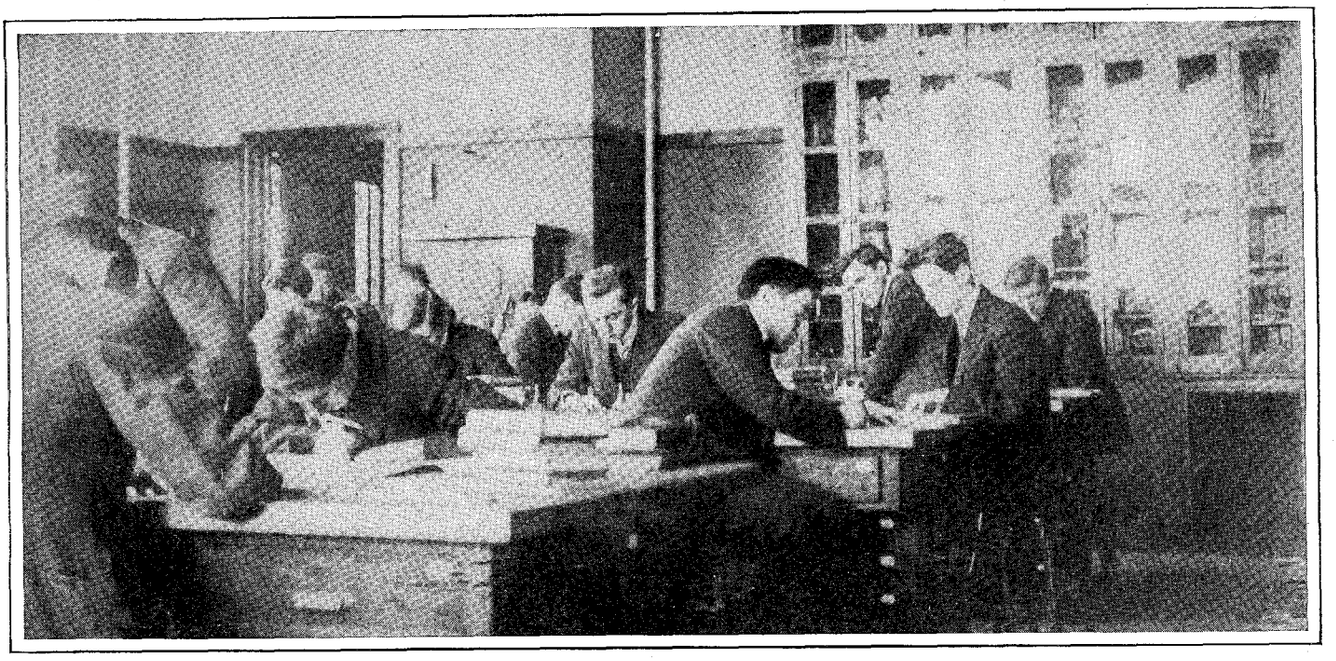

A corner in the physics laboratory

have known a number of teachers of Latin who would have felt just that effect if they ever attempted conversation in that elusive language!

Now it seemed to me that boys must work very hard indeed to gain a working knowledge of Latin like that, when you consider, besides, that they must do all their college preparatory Latin in four years. In fact, wherever I went there was the same spirit—a spirit making for real interest and hard work—self-driven. No, it was not a colony of "grinds" either, for they had just won the football championship of Greater New York.

Do you see the two or three fundamental ideas that are developing? First we noticed a self-imposed good order; then service in many valuable forms—from the managing of the lunch-room and the caring for visitors to looking after the good name and reputation of the school. Then came a spirit of hard work.

EUGENE A. COLLIGAN, the principal, most emphatically seemed to think that it was a very obvious matter. "Our first object," said he, "is character making, and this is accomplished by a combination of service and hard work. And along with this, with the invaluable aid of our honor society, the Arista, which does so much to develop self-government and high ideals in the school, we endeavor to bring to each boy a desire to be a gentleman, in the best sense of that term."

If you are at all acquainted with the problems facing our large city high schools, and realize how great a swarm descends upon them at the beginning of each term, and if you know how poorly prepared for high school large numbers of these youngsters are, because the grammar schools themselves are crowded and the teachers are compelled to advance each term a certain proportion whether these latter are prepared or not—well, if you realize all this, you may well wonder how this great city high school meets the issue, one that for many results in a semi-annual Waterloo for all concerned. "What," you well may ask, "can this school do with the grand mixture of able boys and mediocrities and dullards who are dumped upon it twice a year?"

WELL, this school does what every other school, public and private, should do—and generally does not. They group their pupils according to capacity. On entering the school the newcomers are given an intelligence test, and are then placed in classes of forty boys each according to their intelligence as shown by the test. Now these folks know as well as you do, and perhaps very much better, that intelligence tests do not tell everything. They do not tell, for instance, of the perseverance and concentration that will enable a boy of very moderate native ability to attain a high scholastic rank. Intelligence tests do not test character qualities. Therefore the first arrangement of boys is corrected according to the classroom performance. So there are developed homogeneous classes, making for real efficiency, not only for the benefit of the able boys, but especially for that of the mediocrities, who thus can receive the kind of training best suited to their needs and possibilities. Finally, the able boys are not jumped ahead. There is no desire to get brilliant boys into college long before they are socially mature enough for such an experience. Not at all. Instead of this, the able groups have their courses broadened out to meet their capacity—a most ideal kind of procedure. And this helps to explain the efficiency of the teaching and the sustained natural interest. Each boy is given work he is capable of doing, and the spirit of the school causes him to work right up to his capacity. Nor is this an expensive private academy where you might expect considerable attention to the needs of the individual. It is a public high school, a large and crowded one with several annexes, in Brooklyn, with fully ninety per cent of the student body either foreign-born or children of foreign-born.

THERE may be in this land other high schools with a similar spirit. There must be something about the "stand-on-your-own-feet" necessity in such schools to cause their graduates to stand ahead of private-school graduates when it comes to gaining honors in college. In fact, here and there in other public high schools I have met with an admirable attitude toward work and toward life. But never before in any one school have I found so many valuable educational achievements—from the recognition of capacity differences and providing for them to the emphasizing of character as the means for bringing to the individual everything else worth while.

With such institutions turning the

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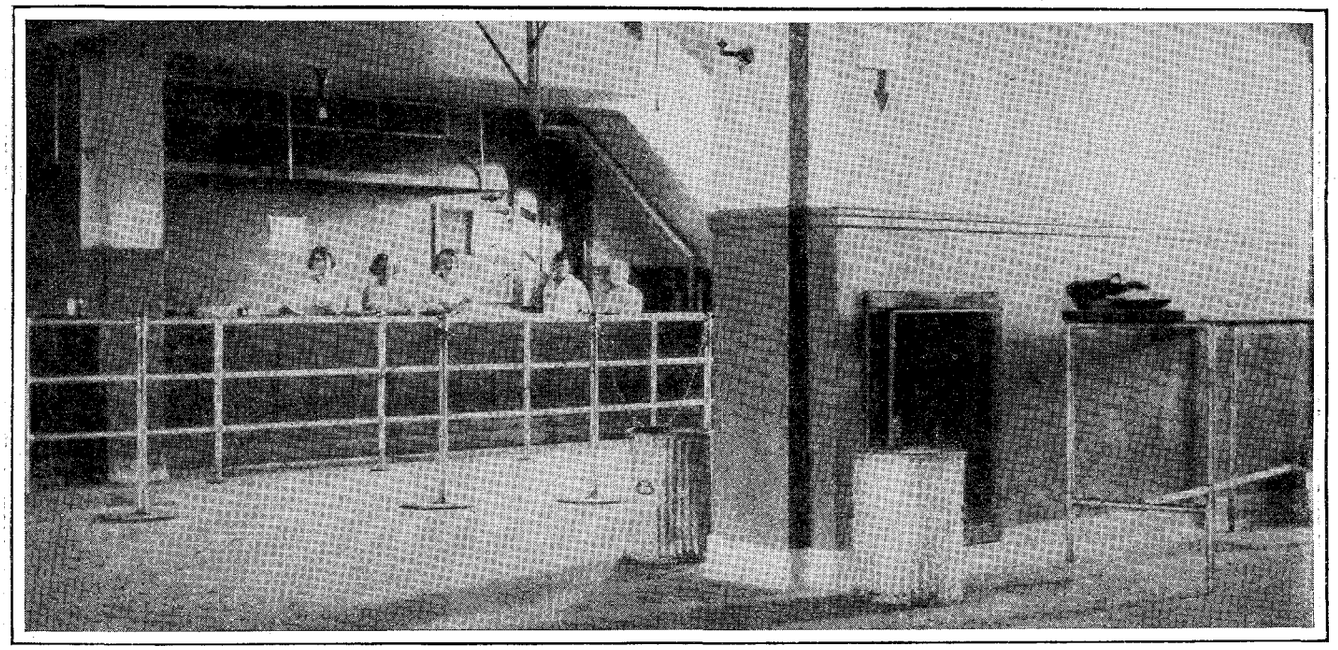

The lunch-room

boys of our crowded cities, and from foreign localities, into worthy and valuable citizens, perhaps we would do well to turn some of our attention in the other direction and see if we cannot discover some equally efficient method for training and educating the sons of our most successful people—judging "success" from the economic standpoint. For these latter are helped over every little educational tangle, they too often demand an automobile to carry them the few blocks to and from school, and they far too rarely are taught to look upon the possession of wealth as a deep responsibility, and consequently have no other idea than spending all they can for whatever pleasure or excitement happens to attract them. Perhaps, I say, we may be able, once we consider it, to evolve some effective method for the education and character training of the children of the well-to-do, so that they too may become steady, purposeful, responsible citizens, such as seem to become the graduates of the Boys' High School of Brooklyn.

The British Army in the Revolution

By Don C. Seitz

THE might of Britain has been much exalted by those who have written the history of the American Revolution from the American standpoint. But was she so potent, after all? One is moved to this query after reading "The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution," by Edward E. Curtis, Ph.D., of Wellesley College, published by the Yale University Press, under the provisions of the F. J. Kingsbury Fund. The degree hunters have dug deep into many sidelines of our history, and this effort on the part of Professor Curtis is rather notable in what it reveals.

To begin with, the population of Britain was about double our own when the guns were fired at Concord and Lexington. Against this we were in possession of a vast country, three thousands miles across the sea, endowed as no other land on earth was in resources of every sort. The British army at the time of the outbreak consisted, outside of militia, of but 48,647 men, of whom 39,294 were infantry, 6,869 cavalry, and but 2,484 artillery—a puny force to guard so far-flung an empire, for England was almost as great in territory then as now. Even though India was in the hands of a corporation, with its own army, it was a national responsibility.

Of this force around 15,000 were in England itself, 12,000 in Ireland, 8,000 in America, and the rest scattered in Scotland, the West Indies, Africa, Minorca, and Gibraltar. This represented the status of the troops as it had prevailed since the close of the Seven Years' War, in which the American colonists had received their military education. Two sorts of troops existed—the ordinary regiments of the line and the household detailments on duty in London and Westminster, serving as a guard for the King.

THE regimental average was a little under five hundred men. The officers were colonel, lieutenant-colonel, chaplain, adjutant, surgeon and his mate—usually an ill-paid, half-educated apothecary. The cavalry and artillery had a similar complement, with the addition of a major. The cavalry regiments were small—under three hundred men, divided into six troops. The artillery regiments contained four battalions, each of eight companies. They were armed with very light pieces—3 and 6 pounders, drawn by three and four horses, respectively. Two guns were apportioned to each regiment of foot, although Burgoyne sensibly massed his cannon into batteries of four 6-pounders.

For music each regiment had fife and drum, though the more fancy guards had bands of eight pieces, plus a leader—two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons. There was a small force of engineers, of whom several officers only were employed in America.

The medical corps was almost nonexistent and pretty well suffused with brandy, many being Scots. They were not required to hold a degree, nor did the mates pass any sort of examination.

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Many had no medical education of any sort. The mates were paid three shillings sixpence (less than $1) per day. Medical supplies were scanty and under the control of an apothecary general, who paid himself in commissions. Surgeons had to provide their own outfits. The mates were forbidden to wear uniforms, and seem to have had no military standing. Chaplains were appointed by the colonels of regiments. These often left the position vacant and pocketed the pay, the rolls being in their custody. In other cases chaplains drew pay while they kept their livings and put on cheap substitutes, profiting by the difference in pay. Things were very loose and corrupt spiritually as well as materially in the army. Yet men so officered and provided for were expected to conquer a nation and strove valiantly to do so!

MARRIED soldiers were allowed to be accompanied by women, nominally, and occasionally, their wives. It is stated that two thousand women followed Burgoyne on his luckless march to Saratoga, though only three per company were officially allowed on the field. The "wives" and children were fed from the public stores. To this day women follow the Mexican army, cooking and waiting on their warriors.

That families of women and children could go to the war in so distant and difficult a country added to the general problem of putting down the insurgents. They brought increased burdens in the way of transportation and supplies.

IN the latter respect the army overseas suffered great hazard. The country was sparsely settled and could not be lived on. Food had to be brought by sailing vessels from abroad, over stormy seas, infested by privateers, who wrought great havoc. The supplies were of substantial sort so far as specifications went, sound "beef, pork, bread, flour, rice, pease, oatmeal, and salt" being required. To these were added cheese, bacon, suet, fish, raisins, and molasses. Potatoes, parsnips, carrots, turnips, and cabbages were provided when possible. Nor was there lack of refreshment. Port, claret, and spruce-beer were forwarded in quantities. The last was for the soldiers, and several breweries were set up to supply it. It ranked as a remedy against scurvy, along with sauerkraut and vinegar. Celery seed and brown mustard seed were also employed as antidotes.

The weekly rations for men, though never quite standardized, ran about as follows: Seven pounds of flour, seven pounds of beef or four pounds of pork, six ounces of butter or four of cheese, three pints of pease, half a pound of oatmeal. In another form the rations by day consisted of a pound and a half of bread, a pound of meat, half a pint of pease, and one ounce each of rice and butter.

If the food furnished had been good, this would have been but scanty feeding. It was, however, all too often bad. The commissaries were always complaining of moldy bread, weevil-infested biscuit, rancid butter, sour flour, wormy pease, and maggoty beef. Whole cargoes were condemned as musty, rotten, and unfit for men to eat. Most of this was due to rascality and some to long detention at sea. The pork, at times, seemed to be four or five years old. Beef enjoyed equal longevity, and the bread was reputed to have come down from the Seven Years' War, nearly two decades before, and so hard that it had to be broken up by pounding with a cannon ball. Large quantities were condemned. Rats, bad packing, and breakage added to lowering the quality and quantity of such stuff as got ashore. Much was sent in great casks that could not be transported in a region without roads, and so increased the travail of supplying the forces. Shipments were ill-balanced. Enormous quantities of pease came to New York that could not be used, but "counted" as supplies. As one observer wrote: "The peculation in every profitable branch of the service is . . . enormous, and, as usual, it is attended with a shocking neglect of every comfort to the troops. The hospitals are pesthouses, and the provisions served out are poison. Those that are to be bought are sold for the highest prices of a monopoly." Evidently the British did not lack for profiteering patriots. When cargoes arrived in good shape, crooked commissaries disposed of them, often for private gain, by the device of condemning them, rebuying, and reselling to the Government at a fat advance.

The demand for transportation exhausted the supply of ships and raised freight rates to high points. In short, all the usual results of war were present.

GREAT difficulty was had in recruiting. The navy could impress. The army had to persuade. Bounties were paid, and many Scotchmen enlisted as a canny way of migrating to the New World. The Hessian hirelings had to be taken on to fill the ranks. These were well-drilled bits of human machinery, but could speak no English and had no interest in the cause. Those taken prisoners usually preferred to remain where they were. While the term "Hessian" remains a by-word of contempt, Washington liked these Germans and did all he could to persuade the prisoners to stay and send for their families, which many did. The term of enlistment was for three years, or until the "termination of the rebellion," at the option of his gracious Majesty, King George.

Officers bought their commissions and paid high prices for them. A colonel sometimes put up five thousand pounds for his rank and pay of two pounds per day. The system looks bad, but does not appear to have been as pernicious as promotion by pull. The officer owned the job he paid for, and was not dependent on the favor of some mistress or go-between. They appear, as a rule, to have been men of good military quality. Professor Curtis observes that the British failed from no lack of courage on the part of either officers or men. Bad generalship and maladministration made their high qualities futile. Negligence, corruption, and inefficiency were the great allies of the Continental cause.

BY no means the smallest of the results of all this was the poor quality of gun flints provided to flash the pans of the big Brown Bess muskets, capable of being fired but three times a minute. The flints were "notoriously poor." Those used by the Continentals would last for sixty discharges—the British, barely ten. Gentlemen in England used black-flint in their fowling-pieces, that equaled the quality of the American, but none were sent to the soldiers.

Brown Bess weighed fourteen pounds. The junior officers carried pikes or "spontoons," the sergeants halberds. Many discarded these mediæval weapons during the war and took on firelocks. Bayonets were in use, but not much employed. Nor did the war develop any improvement in weapons, though a breech-loader was invented. It could not get by the authorities—an age-long difficulty. Did not Hotchkiss have to go abroad and Holland turn to private support in our own time? Further, the best machine gun in the World War, invented by a Regular Army officer, was rejected by our War Department and had to find acceptance across the ocean.

SOME one has said that the cootie has never had half the credit for its share in expediting the ending of the World War. So, perhaps, our own liberties are beholden as much to maggoty beef, petrified biscuit, moldy flour, and weak-edged flints as to the valor of our troops and the steadfastness of George Washington.

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Financial Department

Conducted by WILLIAM LEAVITT STODDARD

The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. The Financial Editor regrets that he cannot undertake the discussion of more than five issues of stocks or bonds in reply to any one inquirer. All letters should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 120 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

"Stocks are High"

ONE of the statements which are current wherever and and whenever investments are discussed is that stocks are too high. This statement gains belief because it is repeated and because there are few who have any particular interest—other than academic—in contradicting it. It is one of those easy generalizations which are so dangerous because they seem to be true and because they have enough truth in them to make them plausible.

A share of stock is in the nature of a certificate of partnership in a business. The holder owns a share of the business. He is not, of course, liable for debts or losses except as the value of his share is decreased by them. He shares in the

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prosperity of the business through dividends and through the enhanced value of the shares if and as the business prospers. Inevitably, and for reasons that are so obvious as to require no setting forth, the market prices of stocks tend to be influenced by these considerations.

It is a fact which few realize, that the best stocks are almost always "high." By this I mean that their market price is such that the yield on the dividends paid is usually 5 per cent, a fraction over, and frequently less. The reason for this is obvious upon a little consideration. It has been described by one writer as the "admission fee to partnership." It costs more to get into partnership with a well-established, prospering firm than with a firm which is not so stable and which is not making so much money.

The other vital factor that affects stock prices is money rates. We do not subscribe to the theory that stocks fluctuate in exact accordance with money rates, but there is a relation, just as there is in the case of bonds. It is not, however, so close a relation because the return on stocks is not a fixed thing, like bond interest.

The rough-and-ready rule is this: Stocks will tend to fluctuate so that yields will approximate current money rates, or a little less. Thus at the present time, when money can be borrowed at 5½ per cent and 6 per cent, the best stocks tend to sell at a price which yields 5 to 5½ per cent. At no given moment will all stocks sell on this basis, but the tendency remains just the same.

Coming now specifically to the question of the existing market, we quote at some length a review of 1926 made by the "Wall Street Journal:"

"A comparison of the 20 industrial companies used in the Dow-Jones averages reveals 1926 as a year of unusual stability in both earnings and market prices rather than a year of great expansion in either, so far as a majority of companies is concerned.

"A comprehensive picture of what has taken place is to be had from a comparison of estimated earnings for 1926 with actual earnings in preceding year and relation of market prices to earnings in both years. Final results for 1926 may vary when complete audit of corporation accounts is at hand, but the figures used in making the following compilations represent the most recent figures that can be gleaned from official and semi-official sources.

"Total estimated earnings for all securities of the 20 industrial companies in 1926 were $760,587,000, against actual earnings in 1925 of $654,595,000, a gain of $105,992,000. Market value of all

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securities reflected this gain in earnings by an appreciation of $992,060,000 during the year, for at close of 1925 these companies were appraised in the security markets at $7,940,350,000, and at the end of 1926 at $8,932,410,000. Earning power capitalized at slightly more than 9 for 1 represented the gain in the market's appraisal of leading industrial securities the past year.

"If there has been any inflation in securities due to tremendous speculative activity in 1926 it is not apparent from this comparison of earnings with stock market valuations. All indications are that the enhanced valuations have been fully justified by the gain in industrial earning power and ease in money.

"Earnings were more conservatively valued at end of 1926, bearing a relation to market value of 1 to 11.744, against 1 to 12.130 in the preceding year. Whereas the securities of these industrial companies were selling at 12.130 times annual earnings at end of 1925, they were selling at 11.744 times their earnings at end of 1926."

This review is very interesting because it reveals a condition quite contrary to general belief, not only during 1926, but at the present moment. Vast numbers of the public and a great many "financial authorities" have been saying for a long time that stocks were "too high." Doubtless some were—and are. But it is our belief that no stock is high which is, first, a share in a stable corporation under proved management; second, purchasable at a price well below its demonstrated value; third, purchasable at a price that is well within demonstrated earning power.

The writer is not one of those who advocate nothing but stocks and no bonds, but when stocks are being considered, let them be considered as dispassionately as possible and with a keen realization, not only of the fluctuation in market value, but also of the growth in real value which comes as a result of sound management and financial policies in essential lines of business—and in a growing country like the United States of America. W. L. S.

From Inquiring Readers

THE copper situation is one which concerns a great many people, particularly the copper stock situation. One of our readers puts it this way:

"I have been carrying 50 shares of Chile Copper on a conservative margin for some time. At present it shows me a loss of about a point. When I bought, I had in mind increasing my margin as I could until I owned the stock outright. I notice, however, that the price of copper metal is comparatively low: *i. e.*, approximately one-half cent a pound less than Chile's average selling price for 1925, during which year they little more than earned their dividend. I would expect this low price for copper to have quite an unfavorable effect on the earnings for 1926, with a corresponding effect on the value of the stock. Please let me know whether you think I am over-emphasizing the effect of this point.

"I believe Anaconda owns 51 per cent of the Chile stock. Could Anaconda manipulate the earnings of the two companies in such a way as to help Anaconda and to the detriment of Chile? If they could, would there be any point in their doing it?

"What do you think of Chile as an investment over a few years?"

Our analysis follows:

"To answer your first question, I would say that I think your analysis of the price situation is correct. It is difficult to forecast the probable future of copper prices. Production is international; so is consumption. A factor which we cannot put our fingers on now may change the balance one way or another. Further, there is always to be considered the reaction of the market price of the stock to a vast category of influences, none of which at this time seems favorable on the bull side.

"I do not think that Anaconda would manipulate figures as you outline. The large corporations tend nowadays to lean over backward to be strictly accurate in their bookkeeping.

"As an investment over a period of years, with due regard to the peculiar situation of the copper industry, we would regard Chile as a good 'business man's risk.' We do not think that there is any great likelihood of loss and that there is considerable likelihood of appreciation. There would, in our opinion, be less risk in carrying General Electric or United States Steel, for example, on a margin for 'long-pull' profit than there would be in carrying Chile.

"Frankly, I cannot explain why Chile is low priced in comparison with some of the other copper stocks. The reason may be that there has not been the speculation in Chile which there has been in some of the others, and that consequently the price has not been driven up."

THIS from a reader in California is interesting:

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$15,000 for investment, and, as I now own real estate, part of which is income-producing, and which with bonds and mortgages give me an income on which I can live, I am considering putting $5,000 to $8,000 in a few common stocks as an investment, though of course I should wish to buy reasonably low and likely make a shift if the price of any went *very* high.

"I am interested in Canadian Pacific R. R.; United Fruit; United States Steel; Union Pacific R. R.; and Atchison.

"I believe in diversification, but do not wish to carry it to an extreme, and think perhaps four or five are enough.

"I am considering putting some funds into bonds which will hold their price or advance and wait for stocks to come down, but I might wait in vain.

"I want safety first and yield (or the chance to profit by sale) second. I shall appreciate any information you may give me about any of these stocks, or about the time to buy, which will help me decide which I should buy, or which I should buy the most of."

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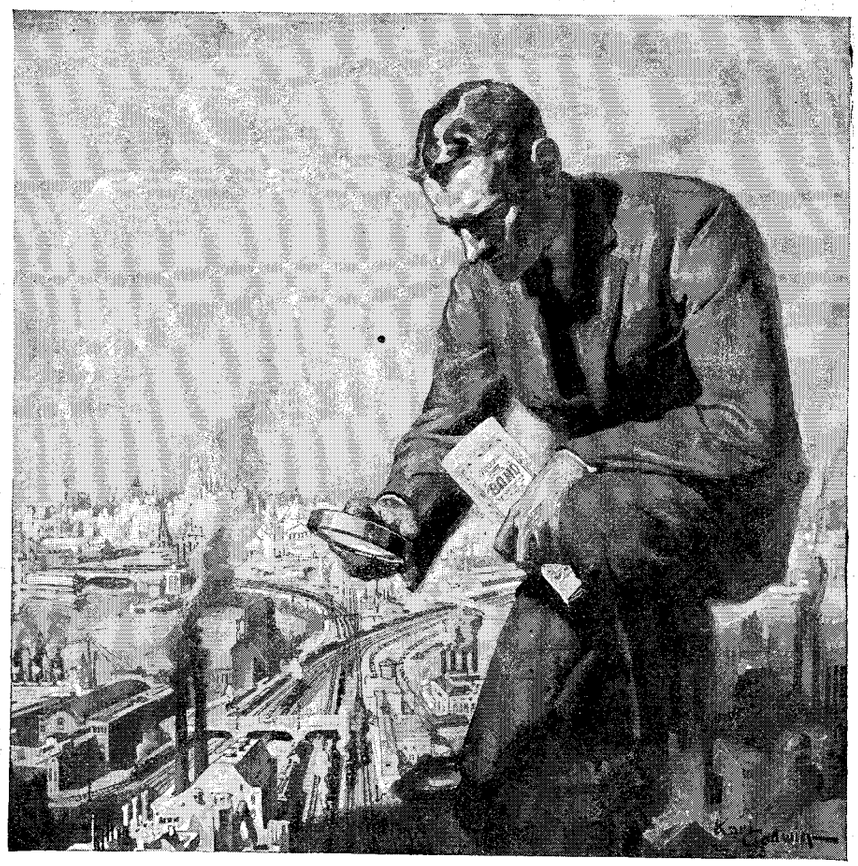

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The Book Table

Edited by EDMUND PEARSON

For Authors During Lent

IT is notorious that we do not buy a book if we can get it by any other means—fair or partly fair. We borrow it from a friend or from a library. We purloin a hasty reading of it in a book-shop, or we content ourselves with a review. The woman who cheerfully pays ten dollars for an hour or two in Ye Pansy Beauty Shoppe will moan aloud at the thought of spending two dollars for a book. The man who thinks himself highly privileged when he acquires—at cost of seven dollars—a bottle of chemicals labeled Genuine Old Vatted Mist o' the Mountain turns a pathetic face upon the neighbor who recommends him to give half that amount for a book. Librarians and writers of book reviews are free from these temptations, but naturally it takes strong provocation to make one of them part with money to get a book as his personal property.

When I say that I went forth and bought Mr. Fowler's "A Dictionary of Modern English Usage"[1] with no purpose other than my own pleasure, I have exhausted my powers of praise. The publishers have not sent it to The Outlook for review, nor have they or the author expressed the slightest concern whether I read it or talk about it. This article is written with the intent to recommend, to any reader who may not have seen it, a book which I would choose as one of the five most entertaining and useful of the past year.

There is a celebrated author who frequently reports that he finds great joy in reading "The Concise Oxford Dictionary." I have heard this denounced as affectation, although I am sure that the author is perfectly sincere. Why should not a writer take as much pleasure in examining words—the tools of his trade—as an automobile mechanic in looking at the various contrivances used in his business? We are all authors of something or other, writers and readers for certain minutes or hours of the day, and any fresh and original work about the English language must concern us all.

Mr. Fowler's earlier work, "The King's English," which he wrote with his brother, now dead, was a useful but rather a painful book. It may be that there are professional writers who could read it and find their withers unwrung. After thirty minutes with it, my feelings are invariably those of the man who read the guide to etiquette, and discovered that his whole life had been one big social blunder. The "Dictionary of Modern English Usage" seems a little kindlier, somewhat more mellow and tolerant. Yet it contains enough to give us all much cause for shame.

It is, in a sense, a dictionary. It is an alphabetical list of words and phrases which, for one reason or another, we need to consider to-day. But far more than that, it is a series of entries, sometimes merely a few lines, sometimes a few pages, which should be prescribed for everybody studying English composition, for editors of magazines and newspapers, for authors everywhere, and even for the pontiffs of the Academy of Arts and Letters. A man may make many blunders and still write good, vigorous English. It is not enough for him merely to avoid double negatives and split infinitives. He may say "ain't" and "gosh darned" and still be a good talker. But if he tries to adorn his writing with shabby and shop-worn metaphor, or his conversation with Miss Nancyish pruderies, he is hopeless.

Mr. Fowler is tolerant about many an ancient bugaboo. He showed in his earlier book that the split infinitive—that ancient touchstone—was a sin committed, not only by good writers, but even by the purists. He is gentle toward all of us poor miserable sinners who mangle the English language day by day. But many of his brief articles in this book will make us blush under the bedclothes.

Consider, for example, his remarks about "Battered Ornaments." Under this heading he refers to such "elegant variations" as the use of "daughter of Eve" instead of woman; such foreign scraps as *dolce far niente* and *gang agley;* such old phrases as "in durance vile;" and such ancient quotations as "Tell it not in Gath" or "balm in Gilead." He writes about "Feminine Designations," and lifts his bold hand (for ninety men out of a hundred are completely terrified by women) against those women poets who feel insulted if they are called poetesses. He is delightful on the topic of "Genteelism." This

[1] A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. By H. W. Fowler, Joint Author of "The King's English," "The Concise Oxford Dictionary," and "The Pocket Oxford Dictionary." The Oxford University Press, London and New York. $3.

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deserves study in the United States, and perhaps especially in those sections where courage and virility are supposed to be unusually prevalent. (I was told recently of a university in Illinois, where a student was threatened with social ostracism because in a classroom he used the indelicate word "stallion.") When Mr. Fowler would have us use "beer" instead of "ale," when he recommends "corn-cutter" in place of "chiropodist," "cinema" rather than "kinema," and "servant" instead of "lady help," clearly he is speaking for England. American railroads *have* become courageous enough to use, in public notices, the word "spit" instead of "expectorate." There are, however, writers and orators here who would prefer "edifice" to "building," and there are many ladies and some gentlemen who never "go to bed," but always "retire."

I wish that American business men, letter writers, and the entire membership of such learned bodies as the American Library Association would read the section on "Love of the Long Word." Then, in time, they might deign to "help" or "aid," and not always, always, to "co-operate."

Other admirable advice is to be found under the headings "Pedantic Humour," "Working and Stylish Words," and "Worn-out Humour." It is perhaps the country newspaper which needs most to study the section on "Polysyllabic Humour." The writer who never mentions a drink but always a "beverage," never an oyster or clam but always a "succulent bivalve," to whom the nose is always "the nasal organ," small boys in trouble with the police always "juvenile offenders," and a cat killed in the street invariably "the unfortunate feline"—this man should have his nasal organ held close to the pages of this tome until he has perused it from alpha to omega.

E. P.

Fiction

THE LENORE: A MARITIME CHRONICLE. By Terence O'Donnell. Illustrated. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.50.

Half novel and half chronicle is this tale of the sea. As a novel it is but so-so; there is no plot, and the characters do not quite persuade you of their reality. Even the robustious old sea-dog, Captain Peleg Parker, struts his part rather stiffly, while his son Calvin is hardly more than a marionette. But as an ocean narrative it has qualities that lift it into the company of Richard Dana's memorable work and Basil Lubbock's "Round the Horn Before the Mast." Here are the days of the old clipper ships vividly pictured; for the author is an ex-navy man who knows the seven seas and who has faithfully labored to reproduce a bygone era in authentic lines and colors. Here are the sounds and motions of the great waters, the scents and colors of the Orient, dead calms and frightful tempests, and the masterly seamanship that wins through to triumph. It is a book for sea lovers. It is also a book out of which those industrious writers of sea stories for the popular magazines may find a wealth of accurate detail regarding ships and rigging that cannot but prove helpful to them in their vocation.

LILIENCRONA'S HOME. By Selma Lagerlöf. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.

It is always a pleasure to get away, as one does in the tales of this author, from the hysterical, the overwrought and the sensational, and to enjoy her cheerful pictures of farm and peasant life. Her children especially are delightful, as might be expected from the creator of "Adventures of Nils." Madame Lagerlöf's recent reception of the Nobel Prize for literature was a just award for her rare combination of close observation and gentle imaginative charm.

THIS DAY'S MADNESS. By the Author of "Miss Tiverton Goes Out." The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $2.50.

Distinctly one of the superior novels of this season. When this anonymous English author's earlier story, "Miss Tiverton Goes Out," appeared, the critic of the London "Spectator" described it as a novel of great beauty and insight, and added: "The author is never hampered in her judgments by her charity. She sees everything, it seems, and still remains infinitely well-disposed." The new story has these merits, and with them the added merit of greater vivacity and pungency. The theme is in one way a counterpart of the first book. There the "heroine" from childhood on is overborne by a vulgar, weak family; here by self-sufficient, exceedingly cultured male relatives who consider the women of the family as mere social appendages, delightful and beloved, but not to count in affairs or have personal views. She breaks loose, not only from them, but from certain repressions of her own nature and finds her happiness where her instincts tell her that it lies. This novel has been called psychological, but it is neither puzzling nor morbid.

A WOMAN IN EXILE. By Horace Annesley Vachell. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York. $2.

Lucy d'Aguilar, a high-bred, charming young Englishwoman, genteelly poor, with a spendthrift father, marries a rich Californian, Chester Cowlard. She marries him for love first and foremost, and—being practical and painfully experienced—also to some degree for money, and goes back with him to San Francisco. "A Woman in Exile" is the story of their married life of twenty-five years and of their children. Many things in America are difficult and some incomprehensible to English Lucy, intelligent and loyal though she is; adjustments and readjustments are necessary, and there are times when the strain tells heavily on opposite national qualities and temperaments. Equally familiar with England and America, tolerant, observing, and understanding, Mr. Vachell's presentation of this international domestic situation is interesting and admirable. The episodes which put the Cowlard marriage to the test are well chosen, and of interest in themselves. The subsidiary characters are all good, notably the two mothers, Californian and English—such an utter contrast to one another—and the ultra-modern son and daughter, who are as attractive as they are breath-taking. Chester and Lucy themselves, never faltering in their love, yet come through the ordeals which fate imposes not too easily, nor to a triumph without scars. Each at one point and in a different way has failed the other, and when they win through at last it is to a tender, humble, and hard-won understanding of their own errors and each other. There is in this fine, sound, thoroughly interesting novel an abundance of what is

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hopeful, cheerful, and agreeable; but it is there in no weak concession to the possible preferences of easy-going readers; the piteous and the tragic are not shirked where they rightfully belong. But the book is one that leaves the mind, not as so many recent novels do, like an intellectually stuffy room with burned-out candles; rather, it feels—and one is grateful—more like a good American sun-porch, freshened, open, and illuminated.

Humor

A RUDE BOOK. By Tell. Edwin Valentine Mitchell, Hartford, Conn. $3.50.

A collection of loosely drawn caricatures and accompanying verses by some one who certainly knows how to draw, but doesn't quite know how to draw this sort of thing. The blurbographer, in an effort to arouse excitement, hints that there are only four artists represented in the book: Max Beerbohm, Jacob Epstein, Augustus John, and Sir William Orpen, and that the culprit is one of them, "no more sparing of venom in his own case than in that of his other victims." Taking one consideration with another, this department places its money on Billy Orps, whose venomous attack upon himself follows:

Sir Billy Orpen is his name,
He rides a horse called Golden Fame,
His wit is keen, his style is cocky,
And heaven meant him for a jockey.

If he would note Max's method a little more closely—but after this bitter self-condemnation further remarks would be useless.

Travel

THE QUEST FOR WINTER SUNSHINE. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $3.

The novelist here turns from criminology and describes graphically the winter lure of the French and Italian Riviera, of Sicily, and of other delightfully sunshiny places. The publishers have given the book a notably pleasing form and the photographs are excellent.

Children's Books

THE DREAM COACH. Written and Illustrated by Anne and Dillwyn Parrish. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

Of the four stories in this attractive book for children of eight to ten, the best, because it most nearly approaches the happy and irresponsible charm of the illustrations, is that entitled "Goran's Dream." The others, although marked by an abundant and agreeable fancy, are a little more elaborate and self-conscious, with a larger proportion of sentiment and less humor.

History

THE OVERLAND MAIL (1849–1869). Promoter of Settlement. Precursor of Railroads. By Le Roy Hafen. With Illustrations and a Colored Map of the Various Mail Routes. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland. $6.

This is one of the most important additions to the chronicles of the frontier that have appeared in a decade. The material has been gathered from many sources, documentary and personal; it has been competently handled, and the result is a thorough and dependable history of the origins and development of the pre-railway mail service between the Mississippi River and the Pacific coast. Despite its wealth of dates and figures, it is a book not merely for the historical student, but for the general reader. All of it is interestingly told; and parts of it, such as the chapters "In the Days of the Stage Coach" and "The Indian Peril," vividly recreate for us the picturesque and thrilling days of the fifties and sixties. The period and region that most of the public knows only through Wild West fiction and the feature articles in the Sunday newspapers is presented here with authentic documentation. The story of the Pony Express (April 3, 1860–October 24, 1861), that has so often been manhandled in the press, is no less an engaging tale because this author has kept close to the facts. The work throughout is marked with a high degree of accuracy, and the slips of date and circumstance that mar the pages of so many books on the old frontier are conspicuously absent.

Cowboys

Rye Star Rte.
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Jan. 12, '27.

Mr. Edmund Pearson
c/o The Outlook
New York City.

Dear Sir: Under your column "The Book Table" in The Outlook for Nov. 10, '26 in your article regarding "The Cowboy and his interpreters" you showed your total ignorance of cowboys "as was" and "as is." Also revealed your extremely low grade of intelligence.

Who are you, to sit in a steam heated room and amid the din of the city and the cry of the Street vendor, and pass judgment on a class of men, of whom you *know nothing* and who is so far your superior that you have not even an inkling of the many superior qualities prevalent among them.

No doubt you got all your information from a slimy 10c novel for you evidently have not been far enough from a garlic scented Hamburger joint to know what a round-up or the wide open range would smell like.

In regard to obscenity and evil-mindedness, it is like comparing St. Peter and Satan to compare a cowboy with one of you cake eating Lounge Lizards and their Labors saintly to you muck-raking, Society Scandal Mongers.

You take a fling at the Marines as well as the Cowboys. Doubtless you were too deficient Mentally, Morally and Physically to pass muster for either one. Therefore your jealousy. They are among the "He" men of the Nation. They are far more modest about their accomplishments than many of the feather-brained writers for the magazines.

Regardless of where you have ever been you never knew a real cowboy. You might have seen a drug store variety. But the real ones are not extinct or all in the movies.

It is quite doubtful if you even know a good book when you read one, for *you have no depth,* to go with your wide strip of loud color, for you have showed the kind of man you are when you let your jealousy push you into taking advantage of your column to write such a defaming article about anybody you *do not know anything about.*

Your subject is "books." Furthermore you are incompetent and unqualified to have charge of your column if you are going to turn it into a mud-slinging vehicle.

You are a piker if you don't submit this letter to your publishers.

I remain, one of those who are not extinct, who asks for no glory, but who does not propose to be defamed by a hand controlled by a jealous head.

Yours Truly,
(Signed) C. A. LUELLEN.

Essays

AVOWALS. By George Moore. Boni & Liveright, New York. $2.50.

This is a reprint of Mr. Moore's dialogues and introspections hitherto issued in limited form. It covers a wide range of critical observations, crisply cut and agreeably written. Walter Pater is his chief adoration, but Kipling, Whistler, and Henry James are tenderly considered. Mr. Moore's style is all his own, and for those who like it is the best extant.

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IS there a pleasant middle-aged woman of good health who is an exceptionally good cook, understands proper cooking of food for growing children, etc., who would be interested in taking permanent position in family, 2 adults, 2 children, living in country on beautiful Berkshire farm? Mother's helper is kept for children and upstairs work. Do not wish ordinary type cook, as this is an exceptional position. Beautiful kitchen, equipped with all modern electrical conveniences. Would have charge of housekeeping on first floor only, cooking, and light weekly wash in electric clothes washer (children's clothes and fine underwear only), all heavy pieces sent out. Excellent salary, large private bedroom, permanent happy home for congenial and capable helper; one who is fond of children desired. Write Far Hills Farm, Monterey, Mass.

PERSONNEL director for national social-educational organization. Man of broad culture and experience, capable of finding a very small and select personnel from among promising young men in their college years, inspiring them with the opportunities for service, and placing them where their abilities will count for most. Capable, because of experience, in evaluating men and their accomplishments. Unique opportunity for a man of character and ability who wants his *efforts to count in worth-while service.* 7,497, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

ANDOVER student desires summer position as tutor or companion, preferably with family intending to travel. Experience. Write Occupant, 5 Taylor Hall, Andover, Mass.

COMPANION. English lady of refinement, musical, well educated, adjustable. Child or older person. 7,504, Outlook.

COMPANION, secretary, hostess, or chaperon, by cheerful, refined lady. Free to travel and very capable. Miss A. E. Dungan, 4204 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

SITUATIONS WANTED

COMPANION to lady or semi-invalid. Prefer employment during day and sleeping out. Capable, cheerful, obliging. Best of *references.* Nine years present employer. 7,498, Outlook.

ONE music school and one art school graduate desire to tutor in family or be companions to persons going abroad next summer. References exchanged. 7,501, Outlook.

PRACTICAL, refined woman as useful companion to adults or children. References. 7,505, Outlook.

WANTED, by capable woman executive, a salaried position as manager of small inn, summer camp, or colony. Would consider renting fully equipped property. Prefer Cape Cod. 7,499, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a six months' nurses' aid course is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Aids are provided with maintenance and given a monthly allowance of $10. For further particulars address Directress of Nurses.

LOVING care for motherless little child in *California home.* Reed, 1041 *Columbia* Ave., Claremont, Cal.

UNUSUAL opportunity to place baby in cultivated doctor's home. Experienced care. All advantages. 7,494, Outlook.

GRADUATE nurse will take invalid or elderly person to board in quiet, refined home in Philadelphia. Good table. References. 7,496, Outlook.

TWO women, one a graduate nurse, living in an attractive home, ideal location, will take a convalescent. Box 19, Peoples Bank, Tryon, N. C.

DOCTOR'S widow can care for an invalid and nurse in own home in Berwyn, Pa. Pictures sent on request. 7,503, Outlook.

By the Way

THE only time a horse gets scared nowadays is when he meets another horse.

When preparations were being made for the welcome of the Prince of Wales to Buenos Aires, the public school children of the Argentine were set to learn the British national anthem. Naturally, it had to be spelled phonetically, and this is the version that was used:

HIMNO INGLES

God seiv aua greichas Kin
Long liv aua nobel Kin
God seiv di Kin
Send jim victorias
Japi and glorias
Long tu rein over as
God seiv di Kin.

Dai choisest guifts in stor
On jim bi plisd tu por
Long mei ji rein
Mei ji defend aua loos
And ever guiv as cos
Tu sin wit jart and vois
God seiv di Kin.

When sung by the children, it sounded quite all right.

From the Boston "Transcript:"

Mrs. Bridey (at 1 A.M.): "Oh, Jack, wake up! I can just feel there's a mouse in the room."

Husband (drowsily): "Well, just feel there's a cat, too, and go to sleep."

Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin, is also Chaplain of the Senate of that State. His prayer at the opening session of that body last month is worthy of complete quotation. Unfortunately, space permits the printing of only a few of its interesting and unusual petitions:

Almighty God, Lord of all Governments, help us, in the opening hours of this legislative session, to realize the sanctity of politics. . . .

Give us the insight and grant us the power to lift this business of Government into an adventure that we may with reverence call the politics of God, because by it we shall seek to fashion the life of this commonwealth in the likeness of that City of God which has been the dream of saints and seers for unnumbered centuries.

Save us from the sins to which we shall be subtly tempted as the calls of parties and the cries of interests beat upon this seat of government.

Save us from thinking about the next election when we should be thinking about the next generation.

Save us from dealing in personalities when we should be dealing in principles.

Save us from thinking too much about the vote of majorities when we should be thinking about the virtue of measures.

Save us, in crucial hours of debate, from saying the things that will take when we should be saying the things that are true.

Save us from indulging in catch-words when we should be searching for facts.

Save us from making party an end in itself when we should be making it a means to an end. . . .

May we have greater reverence for the truth than for the past. Help us to make party our servant rather than our master.

May we know that it profits us nothing to win elections if we lose our courage.

May we be worthy of the high calling of government. Amen.

From the "Keystone Motorist:"

A live-wire salesman rushed up to the home of a doctor in a small village about 3 A.M. and asked him to come at once to a distant town.

The doctor cranked his flivver and they drove furiously to their destination.

Upon their arrival the salesman asked, "How much is your fee, doctor?"

"Three dollars," said the physician, in surprise.

"Here you are," said the salesman, handing over the money. "The blamed garage keeper wanted $15 to drive me over when I missed my train."

The "Bystander" likes the lady who remarked, "When I have been talking to her for an hour I feel as though I had been moving heavy furniture about."

The 2,000th performance of "Abie's Irish Rose" in New York city caused more editorial comment than any theatrical event in months. It is an ironic fact that the adverse criticisms of the opening of the play years ago have been the greatest help to its phenomenal publicity, which in turn has helped it on its everlasting run. Each time the drama passed one of its milestones and broke another record the critics devoted columns to "Abie," the standards of public taste, and their own lack of influence.

From the "Youth's Companion:"

Two men who had traveled were comparing their ideas about foreign cities.

"London," said one, "is certainly the foggiest place in the world."

"Oh, no, it's not," said the other. "I've been in a place much foggier than London."

"Where was that?" asked his interested friend.

"I don't know where it was," replied the second man, "it was so foggy!"

Broker to prospective customer: "Would you be interested in a 'going' business?"

Prospective customer: "Depends on which way it's going."

The most recent survey of the ever-troublesome "movie-extra" problem in Hollywood reveals that, although there are 18,000 people in that city waiting for work as extras, only an average of 710 are employed daily for this film work. Of this number 485 are men, 205 women, and 20 children. The average daily wage is $8.46. Forty-one per cent of the extras receive $7.50 per day and eighteen per cent get only $5 for their very infrequent days of work.

The following anagram is a bit strained, but the best of the week's crop. Four words of four letters each are needed for completion. Each word contains the same letters. Answer next week.

There was a —— in England old
Who kept an inn, so I've been told,
Where she —— —— for troopers bold.
She also sold them —— cheese—
Her sign declared she —— to please.

Answer to last week's anagram: "Mites," "smite," "items," "emits," "times."

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The Outlook's Weekly Aid for Teachers and Pupils

in Preparation for

The Oratorical Contest on the Constitution of the United States

The Outlook will print each week until March 30, 1927, an article on a subject suitable as a theme in this Nation-wide competition. Those who desire further information are requested to address their inquiries to The Educational Editor, The Outlook, 120 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

Hamilton's Contribution to the Constitution[1]

By JOHN ALLEN KROUT, A.B. (Michigan), A.M., Ph.D. (Columbia)

Assistant Professor of History at Columbia University

WHEN the delegates from five States assembled at Annapolis in 1786 to discuss commercial problems, they were immediately impressed by the clear thought and vigorous speech of the youngest member in the New York delegation. Alexander Hamilton was then in his twenty-eighth year. Born in the British West Indies, he had come to New Jersey as a boy of fifteen to prepare for entrance into King's College in New York. His studies had been interrupted by his interest in the course of the Revolutionary movement, and he had left college to enlist in the Continental Army. Through the influence of mutual friends, Washington had appointed him to a responsible position on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief. Between the two men a strong friendship had developed, which was destined to aid greatly the cause of union and constitutional government.

Hamilton was one of the most intelligent critics of political and economic conditions during the critical period. Of the Articles of Confederation he wrote: "The great radical vice of the existing confederacy is the principle of legislation for States in their *corporate* or *collective capacity*, as contradistinguished from the *individuals* of which they consist." At the Annapolis Convention he argued eloquently for a larger conception of National power and dignity. With the support of Madison, of Virginia, he drafted a report, unanimously adopted by the delegates, pointing out the fundamental defects of the governmental system and proposing a general convention in 1787 "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled." Thus Hamilton was largely responsible for persuading the delegates at Annapolis to summon a convention at Philadelphia the next year for the purpose of revising completely the framework of the Federal Government. He intended that a truly National system should triumph.

At the Philadelphia meeting Hamilton discovered that his views were regarded as extreme and inapplicable. So long had he written and worked for a stronger central authority that he was completely out of patience with feeble government and lack of Federal control. He favored a high degree of centralization in the governmental organization, and was therefore regarded as an extremist by his fellow-delegates, many of whom were jealous defenders of the rights and interests of their respective States. Even his two associates in the New York delegation were opposed to his views, and succeeded in defeating him whenever the vote of the State was taken in the Convention. Embarrassed by his colleagues, he was able to exercise but little influence on the course of the deliberations, though he presented with force the view-point of an ardent nationalist. One of the delegates in reply to Hamilton remarked: "The gentleman from New York has been praised by everybody, he has been supported by none."

Although the Constitution was not drafted in conformity with his political theories, Hamilton gave it his constant support. It was infinitely preferable, with all its shortcomings, to the Articles of Confederation, and he entered enthusiastically into the campaign to secure its ratification. On his shoulders rested much of the responsibility for the ultimate decision in the State of New York. He knew well that the political faction led by George Clinton would oppose ratification, basing its attack upon popular distrust of strong government and popular prejudice against change. Furthermore, the Clinton faction was strengthened by reason of the fact that Lansing and Yates, Hamilton's colleagues in the Constitutional Convention, had refused to sign the document and were opposed to its ratification. In order to combat ignorance and misunderstanding concerning the Constitution, Hamilton started a series of essays in various New York newspapers, hoping to reach influential readers throughout the State. He was joined in this venture by Madison and Jay, the three men publishing eighty-five essays in all. Collected and printed under the title of "The Federalist," these papers form at the present time a "great treatise in political science" and the "most authoritative commentary on the Constitution." At the time they were written they were copied widely and were read with interest far beyond the borders of New York.

It was evident when the Convention assembled at Poughkeepsie in June, 1788, to consider the question of ratification that the work of Hamilton and his supporters would be difficult. The enemies of the Constitution were well organized and were strongly supported by the Hudson River landowners and up-State farmers, who were anxious to save the revenue from the import duties which the proposed Government would take away from them. Hamilton, ably seconded by Jay and Robert R. Livingston, headed the commercial and financial interests who demanded a Government strong enough to control commerce and establish a sound currency system. For more than a month the conflicting forces debated the Constitution clause by clause, with Hamilton answering all attacks. His efforts to win over the opposition varied from eloquent and cogent argument to shrewd political maneuvering, and when the vote was taken on July 26 the Convention ratified the new form of government by 30 to 27. The principal credit for the achievement was given by popular acclaim to the brilliant leader of the Federalist forces.

It remained for the friends of the Constitution to put the new instrument into successful operation. There was little doubt but that Washington would be called to the helm of the new ship of state, and many felt that his first lieutenant would be Alexander Hamilton. This expectation did not fail. Soon after Washington arrived in New York, the first capital of the new Government, he sought Hamilton's aid in the management of the National finances. The success of the whole venture depended largely on the Government's ability to solve the question of the debt and the revenue. It was a gigantic burden which rested upon the shoulders of the slight little New Yorker who but a few years before had denounced the financial arrangement under the Articles of Confederation. He set himself to his task with a will. In quick succession there came from his pen an extraordinary series of state papers, dealing with the debt, the currency, and the revenue of the Nation. The ideas and principles expounded in Hamilton's reports showed, not only a broad grasp of these complicated problems, but also an astonishing mastery of the details. For each financial problem which the country faced he presented a concrete solution.

The Hamiltonian proposals were not everywhere received with rejoicing. His former enemies and many new opponents charged that he was usurping authority which the Constitution did not specifically grant to the central Government. He was denounced as a dangerous centralizer; a man interested in monarchical rather than republican institutions. It was at times hard for him to persuade Congress to pass the financial measures which he deemed necessary. But with the approval of Washington as a strong weapon, he won his battle on every important point. He was privileged, therefore, beyond most men of his day, to contribute to the solution of the difficulties which confronted the Nation. He worked for a Constitutional Convention; he participated in the deliberations of the Assembly which drafted the document, and he carried forward the financial program under it. As Professor Robert L. Schuyler has well said, "His was the constructive genius that was to make the Constitution drafted at Philadelphia a practical success."

[1] References:

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